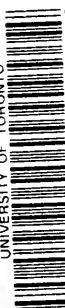
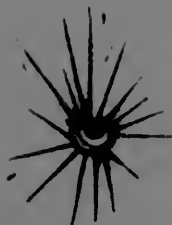


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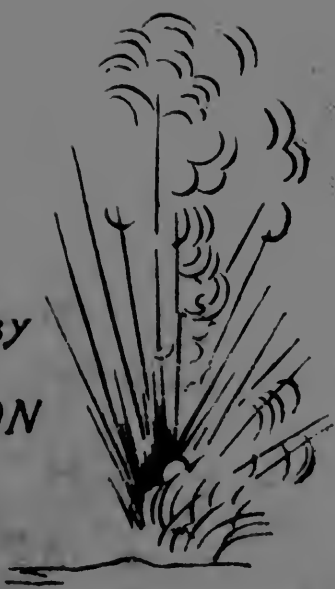


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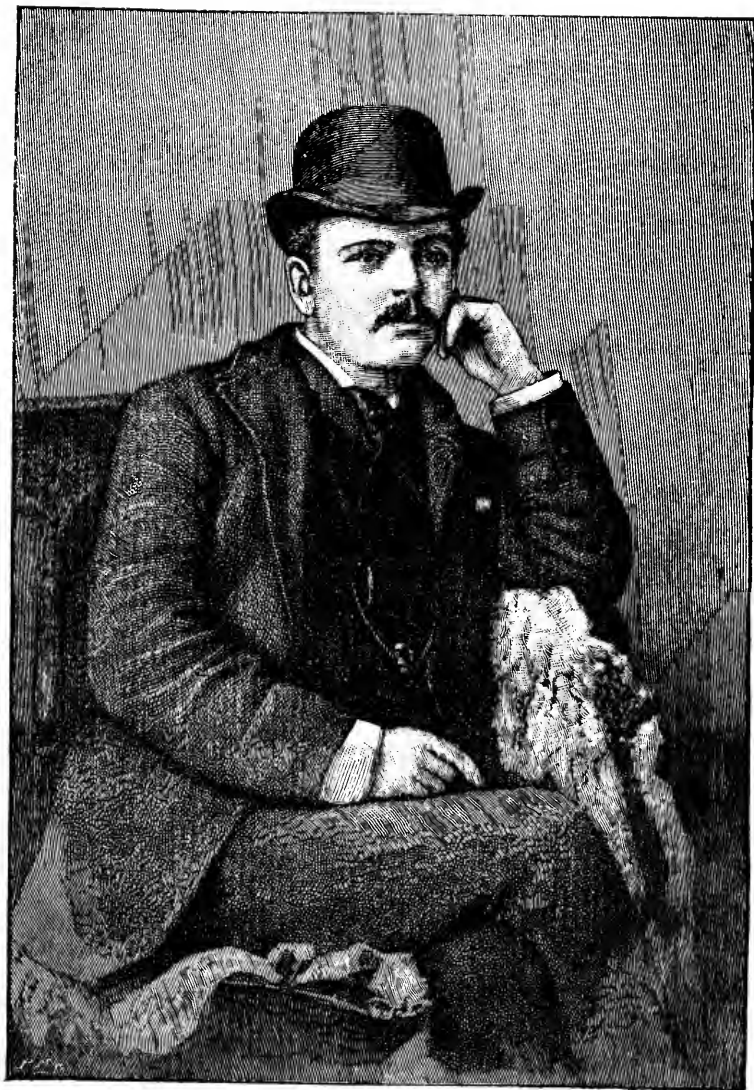
THE
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Frontispiece.

DR. L. S. JAMESON.

The Raid on the
Transvaal by
Dr. Jameson.

1898.

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THE RAID ON THE TRANSVAAL

BY DR. JAMESON.

CHAPTER I.

The Gold Discoveries of the Transvaal—The Partition of Africa—Matabeleland and Mashonaland—Their History and Disposition—Mr. Cecil J. Rhodes—The Concessions—The Formation and the Constitution of the British South Africa Company—Khama, King of the Bamangwatos—The Mashonaland Pioneers—The March to Salisbury—Mr. F. C. Selous—The Boer Trek—The Progress of Rhodesia.

THOSE who have read Charles Kingsley's "Westward Ho!" will remember the celebrated horn of Salvation Yeo, who, at the request of that adventurous gentleman, John Oxenham, impulsively presents it to Amyas Leigh, refusing to take any payment for it;

this horn had depicted upon it a more or less accurate map of the Indies with divers embellishments, whilst here and there upon it appeared in bold English characters the mystic words, "Here is gold" and "Here is much gold," which last additions were, the author suggests, the work of Yeo himself. I should not like to insult my readers at the very outset of this work, yet I cannot but think that the mental chart which we have of the continent of Africa is not unlike this horn—a rather vague general outline with gold-mines prominently figuring within its boundaries.

It is not surprising if the outlines be vague; Africa, the neglected continent, has in the course of the last few years become the seat of the rivalries of the great Powers of Europe, which make large demands upon its expanse. As a result, the continent has been developed at an amazing rate; such a development, in fact, could never have been in the older days of colonial enterprise, when to establish communications from point to point was a matter of years; and this development

has resulted in the whole of the continent being absorbed within the defined boundaries or spheres of influence of the nations. Take the map of Africa of twenty years ago and you will see left uncoloured huge tracts of unknown country with a few tribal and other names, and even those uncertain, dotted here and there; take that map to-day, and the whole country is coloured with the pink, the green, the yellow, that denote the possessions of various States.

Strong as is the evidence which, now that the dust of party controversy over the events that followed the battle of Majuba Hill has settled down, goes to show that the action of the Government of the day admits of much more than a shadowy defence, if indeed it is not completely justified, I do not think public opinion would ever have permitted that England should part with any shred of her dominion over the Transvaal, if the gold discoveries of 1886 had been made in 1880. As it was, scarcely was the ink dry on the Convention when there came rumours of the mineral wealth of the territory. Thicker

were the rumours after the year 1884, when further modifications in that Convention in the Republic's favour had been made; in 1886 these rumours had shaped themselves into definite facts; the rush to the Transvaal began, and that rush has never since ceased. Thus the first link was forged in the chain of events which has forced this insignificant inland state into the forefront of the world's history, which has caused two of the mightiest nations of the world to half unsheath the sword against each other. From this time onwards, with an uniform acceleration, the continent has been the scene of the restless activity of the great Powers; of frontier delimitations, of boundary disputes, of petty skirmishes, of threatened wars.

It may be that, gold or no gold, Africa was destined to become the next area for partition of the dominions of the uncivilised among the powers of civilisation; yet can it be doubted, after all due allowance is made for the expanding tendencies of prosperous and overflowing states, that the quickening

influence for the partition of Africa has been the Transvaal discoveries, and that the magic words engraven on Yeo's horn have lost none of their power in the course of three centuries ?

It is, however, south of the river Zambesi that our attention must be mainly turned. North of British Bechuanaland lies the district—still governed by its several native chiefs, Khama (of whom more hereafter) being the most important—known as the Bechuanaland Protectorate. North of this again, and north and north-west of the Transvaal Republic, extending on the west to the now recognised eastern limits of the German colonies on the west coast—the 21st degree east longitude—and on the east to the ill-defined western limits of the Portuguese colonies on the east coast, there lies a country which was for some time neglected even in the before-mentioned rush to Africa, and which was generally looked upon as likely to prove anything but a profitable speculation for the country that should undertake to exploit it. The greater part of the western portion of this district began to

be heard of by the general public about the year 1887 as Matabeleland, and the north-eastern and eastern portion about the same time as Mashonaland.

The history of these two tribes—the Matabeles and the Mashonas—is widely different. At a period now approaching sixty years ago, there was a celebrated chieftain of one of the confederated tribes of Zulus named Umgiligazi. He, in common with many other like chieftains, owed tribute and homage to Chaka, the great chief to whom the Zulus owe their confederation, and who ruled these various vassal chiefs with merciless severity. Umgiligazi, however, seems to have considered himself strong enough to raise head against his liege lord, and eventually brought matters to an open rupture by the refusal on his part to render to Chaka his customary tribute. Chaka vowed vengeance on his refractory vassal, and despatched a large “impi” against him. Umgiligazi, evidently doubting the intention of Chaka to proceed in a constitutional manner, fled with his followers into the district now known as

the Transvaal Republic. Here he found himself in the midst of a number of tribes unused to warfare, in which, needless to say, all Zulus excel, and he set himself to exterminate those about him. Raid followed raid, and the unhappy inhabitants were to all intents exterminated. But difficulties were in store for Umgiligazi. It was at this time that the Dutch trek from Cape Colony commenced. Impatient with the English attitude on the slavery question, and indignant with the meagre compensation allotted to them for their vested interest in its continuance, numbers of the Dutch inhabitants "trekked" northwards to seek a happier home free from English rule. These Dutch, we may say in anticipation, were the founders of the two free republics of South Africa—the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State.

Proceeding northwards, the Dutch pioneers fell in with the Matabele under Umgiligazi. Unprepared as they were for such strenuous opposition, they at first suffered heavily, but eventually civilisation won the day over savagery, and the Matabele were severely

defeated in two or three big battles, in which they fought with all that desperate valour which has distinguished them in the combats of later years.

But whilst Umgiligazi was still reeling from the blow dealt him by the Boers, he was taken in the rear by the forces of Chaka, his former chieftain, and again heavily defeated. Umgiligazi collected the remnant of his forces, and marching across the Limpopo river, established himself in the district before described as Matabeleland. Here, however, he did not rest contented. To the east and north-east lay Mashonaland with its people, peaceful by nature, given to agricultural pursuits only. These unfortunate Mashonas were harried continually; their crops taken off; their men massacred; their women carried off as wives and concubines for their conquerors. Yet the policy of extermination was not carried out against the Mashonas, but they became tributaries of the Matabele, the levy being usually enforced by a raid.

Umgiligazi, in the fulness of time, slept

with his fathers, and was succeeded by Lobengula, his son, who had at one time barely escaped with his life from a general slaughter by Umgiligazi of all his near relatives on the ground of some treasonable practices, real or imaginary, but who now took the place his father had vacated. But more of Lobengula anon; for the present it is sufficient to note that he was still ruler of Matabeleland when its shadow fell across the page of English history. Much discussion has taken place with regard to the Mashonas, occasioned by the traces of the extensive gold-workings of bygone years. Mr. J. Theodore Bent has published a most interesting work on the "Ruined Cities of Mashonaland," in which he deals at length with the data which tend to the identification of Mashonaland with the land of Ophir, from which came the treasures of the Jewish temple.

That the land was once occupied by a highly-civilised race seems beyond question; Mr. Bent ascribes the ruins of Zimbabwe to "a race like the mythical Pelasgi who inhabited the shores of Greece and Asia Minor, a race

like the mythical inhabitants of Great Britain and France who built Stonehenge and Carnac, a race which continued in possession down to the earliest dawns of history, which produced gold for the merchants of Phœnicia and Arabia, and which eventually became influenced by, and perhaps absorbed in, the more powerful and wealthy organisations of the Semite"; but whether this be so, or whether in fact the Mashonas are an example of an originally civilised race falling back under climatic and other influences into barbarism, certain it is that they are an unwarlike race, very devoted to agricultural pursuits; desiring to live at peace with all men; fleeing on the approach of the Matabele raiders to the top of the granite rocks of their country, and remaining there till the terror, after taking its customary tribute, was passed away; unconscious of the mineral wealth of their country (for their gold workings were nugatory), and welcoming the advent of the white man to protect them in the enjoyment of the few things they desired.

This, then, was the disposition of that por-

tion of what is now known as Rhodesia at the time when the names Matabele and Mashona first began to have a meaning for us: the Matabele, an autocracy (though, as we shall see afterwards, with limitations) on a military basis; the Mashonas, small tribes under various petty chieftains, all owing a compulsory allegiance to Lobengula. Westward of the Matabele kingdom and its dependencies, across the Kalahari desert and beyond the scattered Bechuana tribes were the German colonies, and east and north-east of the Mashona tribes lay Manicaland, on the confines of which were the shadowy boundaries of the possessions of Portugal.

It has been said that this country was at first neglected in the rush for Africa, but even before 1887 rumours of its advantages were abroad. Closer examination showed that for colonising purposes it was a country most desirable. The mineral wealth was great, and (what certainly by no means follows) it was a district highly favoured as to climate. Situated on a high plateau between the Zambesi river on the north, and

the Limpopo on the south, and forming the watershed whence ran the supply for these two rivers, it was for the greater part above the fever-stricken area ; a country rich with wide-spreading pastures, a fertile soil, and a bracing atmosphere.

Not only to England came these rumours ; not only England was covetous. Portugal already laid claim to Mashonaland by long occupation, though traces of that occupation were hard to find ; Germany longed to connect this district with her Damaraland colonies on the west ; and the Boers of the Zoutspanberg district in particular were, it was believed, meditating a trek northward. What was to be done, must be done quickly.

To write the history of the acquisition of Mashonaland by England acting through the Chartered Company of South Africa is to write the history of Mr. Cecil J. Rhodes. In a book which professes to do nothing more than give a sketch of later events in South Africa, it would be wise to adventure little upon Mr. Rhodes either of praise or blame. But it cannot be denied that Mr.

Rhodes was throughout at the head and front of the British endeavour to obtain a footing in Mashonaland; that he pushed his way through countless obstacles with this one purpose in view, and that as an almost natural result, having regard to his indomitable purpose, he carried his way. As Mr. Selous says:—

“It is due to Mr. Cecil Rhodes, I cannot too often repeat, that to-day our country’s flag flies over Mashonaland. He alone of all Englishmen possessed at the same time the prescience and breadth of mind to appreciate the ultimate value of the country combined with the strong will which, in spite of all obstacles, compelled the means and the power successfully to carry out the scheme for its immediate occupation.”

Mr. Rhodes possessed an almost unique knowledge of African affairs. The son of an Essex clergyman, he was sent out in his early youth to South Africa, as the state of his health precluded his remaining in England. He had risen to a position of eminence in Cape Colony at the time the events

we are now speaking of were passing, and was destined to be Premier of the colony within two years from that time. He it was who recognised the necessity of an alliance with Lobengula, and it is gratifying to read in *The Times* of the 28th April, 1888, that the king had concluded a treaty of peace and amity with England.

It was found that there existed among the Matabele a firm conviction that the English had been exterminated in the Transvaal War, and that the Transvaal Republic was the head state of South Africa. This idea militated strongly against English influence with the natives; and to correct it, a visit was arranged for three of the Matabele chiefs or indunas to England. The visit was in every way successful, and the envoys, after being presented to the Queen at Windsor and shown the metropolis, returned to their king with a very different impression as to the power of the English race from that with which they started.

Long and tedious is the history of the lengthened negotiations with Lobengula for

a concession of mining rights over the Mashonaland district. Frequent were the journeys undertaken by the emissaries of Mr. Rhodes from the south to the king's capital of Buluwayo by Mr. Rudd, Dr. Jameson, and others. Several ill-defined concessions were, however, obtained from time to time, and the several concessions were taken to by companies formed for that purpose. Eventually these companies were amalgamated, and the newly-formed Central Company petitioned, on the 13th July, 1889, for a Royal Charter, which was granted on the 29th October, 1889.

Thus was formed the British South Africa Company, of which much has been written both for good and for evil. Into the controversy as to the advantages and disadvantages to the mother country and to the governed of the government by Chartered Companies, it is obviously not within the scheme of this book to enter; but having regard to the dominating part played by the Chartered Company in affairs of South Africa since its incorporation, it will not be out of

place to make rather more than a passing reference to it.

The principal field of operations of the British South Africa Company was defined by its charter to be "the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland and to the north and north-west of the South African Republic and to the west of the Portuguese dominions"; it was authorised and empowered to hold and retain for the purposes of the Company and on the terms of the charter the full benefit of the concessions and agreements before referred to; subject to the approval of one of the principal Secretaries of State from time to time to "acquire by any concession, agreement, grant, or treaty, all and any rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions, and powers of any kind or nature whatsoever, including powers necessary for the purposes of government and the preservation of public order, in or for the protection of territories, land, or property comprised or referred to in the concessions or agreements made as against or affecting other territories, lands, or property in



MR. CECIL J. RHODES.

Africa or the inhabitants thereof, and to hold, use, and exercise such territories, lands, property, rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions, and powers respectively for the purposes of the Company, and on the terms of the charter," but with a proviso that no power of government or administration should be acquired until particulars should be laid before the Secretary of State, and his approval obtained. Authority was given the Company to raise a force of police for the purposes of the district, and to exercise judicial functions through duly constituted agents, but with due regard to the customs of the various tribes brought under its control. Of this Company Mr. Rhodes was, needless to say, the managing director; the other members of the board of directors were: The Duke of Abercorn, the Duke of Fife, Lord Gifford, Mr. Beit, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Cawston.

Enough of the charter has been quoted to show that the objects of the Company are fairly wide; its field of operations is likewise wide. Its limits as defined by this

first document give an area of 360,000 to 400,000 square miles. In the early part of the year 1891, its field was extended across the Zambesi up to Lake Nyanza in such manner as to give it an area of operation of 750,000 square miles. The powers and authority of the Company were more defined and developed by the agreement come to in the year 1894, of which more in the next chapter.

The first object of the newly-formed Company was to obtain possession of the Mashonaland district, over which it was that the concessions had been granted. It was felt that there was a want of formality about the conveyance which might make it possible for Lobengula to object to his bargain, and to withdraw his permission to enter what he claimed as his dominions; and it was generally thought that it would be necessary for a large force to be sent up country to take possession. Subsequent evidence goes to show that if Lobengula had no intention to oppose the advance, several of his leading indunas had a different disposition; but any hostile

action was prevented by the bold and rapid action of the Company—action which deserves to be given a prominent place in any work devoted to the colonial exploits of Englishmen. Five or six thousand men was the generally accepted estimate of the number sufficient to ensure a safe advance; the occupation of Mashonaland was in fact effected by 500 of the Company's newly-formed police under Lieutenant-Colonel Pennefather, and a pioneer corps of 190 men under Major Johnson, together with a contingent of Khama's subjects, who, to the number of 200, assisted in clearing the country of its natural obstacles. Dr. Jameson had the general control.

Khama is an African chief who deserves notice above the ordinary. He is one to whom missionary enterprise may point with the greatest pride when attacked by the taunts of those, who, following in the wake of the missionary, and under cover of that vague expression, "civilising influence," do so much to undo missionary work. Head of one of the tribes of the Bamangwatos,

he was one of the earliest converts of the district to Christianity; his resident [missionary is his counsellor-in-chief; his religious principles are strict even to the verge of bigotry, and he has carried his tribe along with him. Autocrat he is, but of the best type, setting the best of examples to his people, and enforcing justice throughout his dominions. He has always been attached to the English cause, and has aided it by all the means in his power; in return he has received the support of the English against the Matabele hordes who cluster on his borders. As Mr. Bent remarks of him, "he is perhaps the only negro king whose biography would repay the writing."

The work of the pioneer corps before referred to was to cut a road through from the Macloutsie river to Mount Hampden, a distance of 460 miles, along which the main body might proceed. The start from Kimberley was made on the 19th March, 1890. The head of the Intelligence Department was Mr. Frederick Courtenay Selous, almost a household word with Englishmen. His

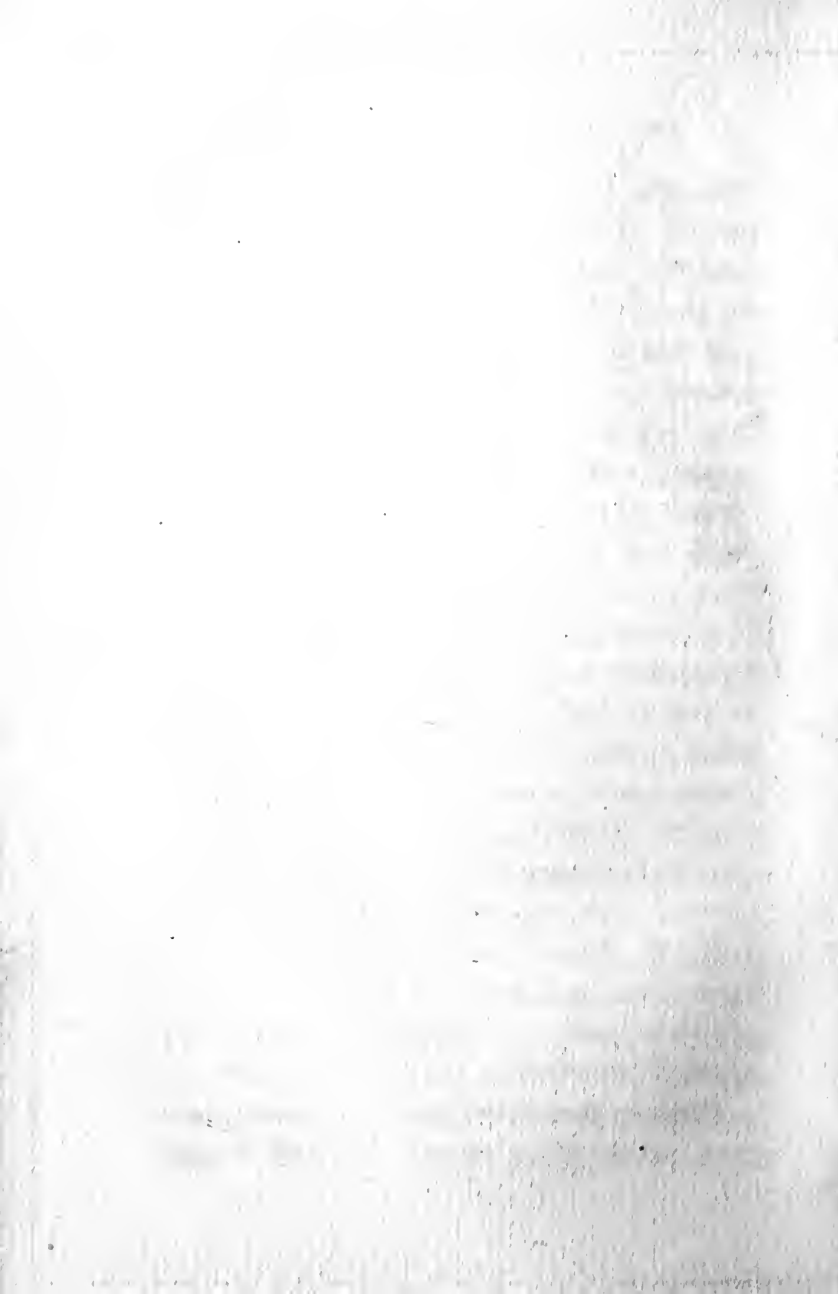
knowledge of the wilds of the interior of Africa is unique; his hunting exploits there have been read with the greatest interest by many, and his dauntless courage, if further proof of it were needed, was furnished some three years later when Major Goold Adams' column met the Matabele west of Impandinis kraal. He was in truth the eyes of the expedition, and for all time must be gratefully remembered by the settlers of Rhodesia.

The resolute little band was inspected by General Methuen at the end of June, and immediately afterwards crossed the frontier, and established the first of the Company's stations at Fort Tuli, just north of the Transvaal border. At the outset of the advance some Matabele indunas arrived, but were despatched back to their king with messages; this fact made the neutrality of Lobengula doubtful, and the anxiety as to the dangers to be encountered far greater. Scouting parties were organised and rode out to the Matabele border to see if any advance of impis were threatened; and to the leaders of the expedition, and to Dr. Jameson in par-

ticular, the first part of the journey must have been one of terrible suspense.

For the first part of the journey led through the low country, where an attack was most to be feared; once make a way through the mountains on to the high plateau, and the column was practically safe from attack; each day spent in the lowlands was more fraught with danger than the day preceding. Mr. Selous has described how he rode out in advance of the pioneers looking for a long time vainly for a possible way through the range of mountains that appeared in the front, and behind which lay safety.

But no attack occurred. The Lunti river was reached on the 1st August. The key to the mountain range was at length discovered by Mr. Selous, and immediately before proceeding through the pass (aptly named Providential Pass) Fort Victoria was established at its southern end. The 1st September found the column at the source of Umgazi river, where Fort Charter was placed. The 12th August landed the adventurous band at Fort Salisbury, the end of their journey, ten



miles south of Mount Hampden, at an elevation of 4,900 feet above the sea-level. The road had been cut and the journey made in the incredibly short time of three months.

It has been noted that the eyes of other nations were fixed upon the prize that had thus been won for the British Empire by the courage and determination of a few men. Ample proof of this was speedily afforded; barely had the British flag been hoisted over the various forts when the great Boer trek, so long mooted, threatened to become an accomplished fact. At first it seemed as if a desperate conflict could hardly be averted, when it was known that the Boers of the Zoutspanberg district were moving to the frontiers of Mashonaland, and that the Company were determined to resist any organised ingress. But negotiations between Sir Henry Loch, Mr. Rhodes, and President Kruger deprived the movement of its formidable appearance; and the President eventually dissociated himself from the trek altogether.

Even the then disorganised movement, however, proved for a moment at least fraught

with risk of bloodshed ; for a large number of Boers moved to the Limpopo river with the intention of trekking northward. On the opposite bank of the Limpopo were stationed the Company's police with a Maxim, and the Boers were warned that any organised advance would be resisted, although any who chose to come in under the Company's regulations were free so to do. A parley among the Boers ensued ; the moment was critical ; a slip might have opened up all the old wounds of 1881, but the danger passed. A few of the more intrepid spirits advanced, but the passage through the river in face of the Maxim was not to their fancy. Eventually the trek broke up, and the main body of the Boers returned, though many of them entered into the new country under the Company's regulations as settlers.

In the wake of the pioneers there followed into the newly acquired district a rush of settlers and prospectors, and the country was opened up at an amazing rate. Townships sprang up at Salisbury, Umtali, and Hartley Hill. The telegraph was carried from

Mafeking up to Fort Victoria ; numerous fresh concessions were granted ; a survey was taken of the railway to be subsequently made from Salisbury to the port of Beira in the Portuguese dominions on the east coast. More than this, the Company's men pushed into Manicaland, on the east and north-east of the Mashona district (where they eventually came into actual collision with the Portuguese at Massi Kessi). For a while the development of the country thrived apace ; then came a check. Many of the new inhabitants had come singularly ill-provided with even the necessaries of life ; and in the season which followed they suffered severely from fever. Many deaths occurred, and loud and angry protests were made against the Company and its officials. But with the opening of the new season and with every day improving the transport service, the cause of these evils disappeared ; and for the next two years the story is only of uninterrupted progress.

A bare outline has been given of the facts leading to the acquisition by the Empire of

Great Britain of one of its most promising provinces ; a province destined in the belief of many to a future of the greatest prosperity ; a province which has already experienced many vicissitudes of fortune, the outlook for which is even now overcast ; which fact, however, if we look back through the past pages of our colonial history, can only make us most hopeful.

Till the early part of 1893 Mashonaland flourished ; at the end of that time another danger arose, and once more the war-cloud loomed.

CHAPTER II.

Dr. Jameson, the Administrator—The Matabele—Lobengula—His Attitude to the Settlers—The Raid on Fort Victoria—The Expedition Prepared—The Bechuanaland Police—The Advance—Death of Captain Campbell—The March of the Combined Columns—The First Battle of the Shangani River—The Battle of the Imbembesi River—The Occupation of Buluwayo—The Deaths of Messrs. Burnett and Williams—The Southern Column—The Pursuit of the King—The Return to Shiloh—On the Track Again—Major Wilson's Party to the Front—The Second Battle of the Shangani—The Retreat of the Patrol—The Last Stand of Major Wilson—The Death of Lobengula.

MR. COLQUHOUN was the first Administrator of Rhodesia. When he decided to resign, Mr. Cecil Rhodes invited Dr. Leander Starr Jameson (of whom mention has already been made as one of those who aided Mr. Rhodes in his negotiations for a concession from Lobengula) to succeed him in the arduous

and multifarious duties that must of necessity fall on the acting executive of a newly settled district.

Dr. Jameson is the youngest son of Mr. R. W. Jameson, a writer to the signet, and was born on the 9th February, 1853, about four months earlier than Mr. Cecil Rhodes. His career as a medical student at University College Hospital was most brilliant, and a great future seemed open to him in England. But, like Mr. Rhodes, his health gave way, and he was compelled to withdraw to South Africa. In this more favoured climate he regained his health, and went into practice at Kimberley. The fame in the medical world which would doubtless have been his had he remained in England was reserved for him in South Africa, and he rose quickly to the very height of his profession. Amongst his patients it is interesting in the light of later events to record was President Kruger. At Kimberley, Dr. Jameson met Mr. Rhodes, and from the first entered heart and soul into the latter's South African schemes; nor was Mr. Rhodes slow to recognise what a capacity

for valuable assistance to him in those schemes Dr. Jameson possessed. How far Dr. Jameson threw in his lot with Mr. Rhodes may be gauged by the fact that he threw up his practice at Kimberley in 1888 in order to undertake on Mr. Rhodes' behalf the difficult and dangerous journey to Lobengula at his capital of Buluwayo, in order (as mentioned in the previous chapter) to facilitate the granting of the concessions over Mashonaland. That a doctor always falls on his feet is a well-known maxim, and it was in the present case exemplified by the fact that Dr. Jameson found the king suffering from an acute attack of gout, and was able to relieve him from the torture. That this last accomplishment endeared him to Lobengula is proved by the fact that when a critical stage occurred later on in the course of the negotiations, he was again chosen to proceed to Buluwayo, and brought matters safely through the critical phase. It was Dr. Jameson, too, who, in the same interests, first made the survey for the projected railway from Beira up the Pungwe river to Salis-

bury; in fact, he has been Mr. Rhodes' right hand in the acquisition and development of Rhodesia. His health had given way again under the strain of the long journeys through fever-stricken districts, but, nevertheless, he did not hesitate for an instant to accept the post of Administrator on Mr. Colquhoun's retirement.

Dr. Jameson's administration of the new district was, as might have been expected, vigorous and capable, and the new colony continued to thrive. But before long a cloud which must have been expected gathered over Rhodesia.

One writer, in speaking of the Matabele war, has said that joint administration of a country by civilisation and savagery was impossible, and that war was inevitable from the beginning. Yet one is almost inclined to think that had Lobengula possessed that autocratic power over his people which had been Umgiligazi's, the Matabele war might never have happened.

For it is indisputable that Lobengula was not an ordinary bloodthirsty savage. Blood-

thirsty he undoubtedly was; cruelty is implanted in the Zulu heart and is practically ineradicable; but he possessed intelligence of a very fair order. He recognised the impossibility of fighting the whites from the first, or he would never have granted half, and more than half, of his territories for their occupation; and he would surely never have followed up the concession by assuming the offensive against them when he had seen the futility of acting on the defensive.

Lobengula has been held up to our execration; he has been made responsible for treacherous murders in cases where it would be very hard to prove complicity; the ordinary Zulu blood-feasts are pointed out as an instance of his diabolical tendencies; he is judged by our standard and he is found wanting; yet he saved harmless two whites in his capital during the progress of the war; an act which, considering his race and training, must bring him high up even among those whom Europe delights to honour. But this is by the way. The point to emphasise is that Lobengula was not strong enough for

his circumstances, and that, therefore, he had to die in a swamp. If he had been stronger, he might have lived to a much riper age, and, like Khama, have seen the glories of London.

Umgiligazi had been an absolute monarch ; but Lobengula was not. The royal authority was being slowly weakened. The council of indunas from being advisory had become imperative.

It is true that Lobengula acted as chief judge of his people in times of peace, and had the power of life and death ; that he could order the death sentence on men of rank and importance for very trivial causes, and that he frequently did so (which we may say without great disparagement to Lobengula if we remember that the Matabeleland of 1892 was not so civilised as the England of 1540). But with respect to the incursions of the Matabele into neighbouring districts, he must needs have possessed very little authority over the outlying indunas scattered over the country. They acted as they saw fit at the time, and the king had to be content ; and at the council-board, if the powerful indunas demanded war,



LOBENGULA,



war it must be. In short, it is inconceivable that Lobengula, at an advanced age and epicurean in habits, contemplated driving the settlers out of Rhodesia with a strong hand; and that he instigated the attacks on the Mashonas round Fort Victoria in order to precipitate the conflict; but we must see that the "young men" were too strong for the king and forced on the war; and it is pathetic to think of Lobengula seeing the inevitable result of such a war, yet unable to prevent its occurrence—seeing his doom slowly approaching, driven from his capital into exile to perish in a fever-stricken swamp. Yet the undoubted pathos of Lobengula's "Where am I to live?" must not produce a feeling of prejudice against the action of the Company.

This is a time when it is not well to say anything about the Chartered Company either for good or evil, except facts; but one cannot read the facts of the Fort Victoria raid without believing that if it was to act as trustee for the interests of those whom it had induced to come up to Rhodesia, hostilities were absolutely necessary. The Mashonas were,

not unnaturally, bitterly wroth with the whites, who had promised them safety in return for service, and then did not carry out their part of the agreement. They grew mutinous, and the settlers, as a result of this, saw the prosperity of the country fading into a dim futurity; they blamed the Company who had led them into the difficulty, and the Company felt that there was justice in their complaints. They called upon the Company to act; and to act meant to fight. It is not unnatural that the Matabele failed to grasp the idea that the cession of territory to the white men meant that their raids upon the luckless Mashonas must cease. Like all Zulu tribes, their organisation was exclusively warlike; the training of their youth was in the arts of war alone; cowardice was to them the only cardinal sin, and periodical raids had become a necessity. Their raiding area was becoming more restricted year by year, and they clung to that which was left the more tightly. If this be borne in mind no surprise need be felt that in the month of July, 1893, an impi of Matabele arrived

near Fort Victoria and commenced slaying Mashonas and raiding cattle. Mashona servants were slain before their masters' eyes, and confusion and anxiety pervaded the vicinity.

Dr. Jameson was summoned to the spot; and close to the Fort he held an angry colloquy with the native indunas, and ordered them to cross the border into their own territory forthwith or they should be driven out; which threat was soon afterwards followed by an attack upon a small band of the Matabele as they were burning a native stockade near, in defiance of the order to retire; and the Matabele were forcibly expelled, leaving some of their number dead behind them.

Messages were sent to Lobengula to reproach him for his lack of good faith and to demand compensation; the king, on the other hand, claimed that certain of his cattle had been stolen and that his servants had gone after them, and complained in angry terms of the attack made upon them. It was evident from this point that war was inevitable; but

the Home Government insisted to the High Commissioner for South Africa that force should not be resorted to if the matter could be finally settled without resort to arms. A long letter was sent by the king to the High Commissioner to state his case, but still he persistently evaded the demand for compensation; and at length came the message in which the king claimed the Mashonas as his servants whom he might raid at will.

Reasons have been given for believing that this line of action was extorted from Lobengula; but, be that as it may, the Company could treat this as nothing else but a declaration of war; moreover, it was evident that a raid on a larger scale was impending. A large impi that had been sent northwards to Barotse, and had been quarantined for small-pox, was released from it and left to prowl about the borders of the country; and other impis were collecting.

The High Commissioner now withdrew his efforts at pacification, and left Dr. Jameson, as the Company's agent, a free hand to deal with the Matabele. Not only this, but a

detachment of the Imperial Bechuanaland Police was ordered to assist the Company's forces proceeding from Fort Tuli. As a fact, the first collision occurred with the Imperial forces, who were fired upon on the Macloutsie river, and returned the fire with effect, killing several of their assailants.

Dr. Jameson decided to invade the enemy's country forthwith, and the attack was directed to proceed from three points. From Forts Salisbury, Victoria, and Tuli were to proceed three detachments, the last detachment being assisted, as before mentioned, by the Bechuanaland Police. The first two detachments were to proceed directly westward to Buluwayo, the capital, along the foot of the Matoppos Hills; the third was to proceed in a more circuitous manner, and reach Buluwayo from a more southerly direction; the intention being to divide the opposing forces and reduce the alarming disparity of numbers. The object of this manœuvre was attained; the southern division withdrew a large number of the enemy from the main line of defence.

It is not the intention in this work to follow

very closely the details of the war, but merely to give a general outline of it; for a full description of it the reader is referred to that extremely interesting book, "The Downfall of Lobengula," by Messrs. Wills and Collingridge, in which many of the chapters are written by the one man best qualified of all to tell the story of the war, Major P. W. Forbes, who had the command of the whole expedition.

It was arranged that the two northern columns should effect a junction at the Ironstone Mountain, about eighty miles from Fort Charter and one hundred from Fort Victoria. On the 5th September, 1893, the Salisbury column moved southwards, under the command of Major Forbes, to Fort Charter, whence the advance into the enemy's country was to be made.

The Salisbury contingent was, as I have said, under the command of Major Forbes, who was to take command of both columns after the junction had been effected. It numbered 250 whites, of whom 150 were mounted, with four guns (two Maxims), and a contingent of

about eighty native Mashonas. Sixteen transport waggons accompanied the column. The settlers who volunteered for the expedition were to receive a grant of land amongst other returns.

A long time was spent at Fort Charter in making full preparations, and it was not until the 2nd October that the advance was ordered. Prior to starting, everything was done that could possibly be done to put the forts in an efficient state of defence.

The column moved forward slowly, the waggons preventing any very rapid advance. Every night the columns went into laager. This formation, of which we in England have of late heard so much, is effected by placing the waggons in an oval-like formation; at various points of this oval the guns are placed, and the men and horses inside the oval; pickets being thrown forward at some distance from the laager. After the meeting of the columns the two laagers were placed alongside one another, and the waggon-oxen were placed between the two, with an abattis of thorn on either side. So accustomed did

the men become to this work that when the expedition was in full swing the work of laagering occupied considerably less than ten minutes.

No sight of the enemy was obtained for some time after crossing the border, and it was not until the two columns were nearly in touch with one another that any shots were fired; numbers of friendly natives, however, made their way to the column and expressed their satisfaction at the adventure. On the 15th October a small detachment of the Salisbury column, in attempting to drive some of the enemy's cattle, came upon a group of the enemy, one of whom shot Captain Campbell from behind a rock, inflicting a mortal wound. He died the next day.

On the next day after the mishap, the Victoria column arrived. This was greater in number than the Salisbury force, including as it did 400 whites and a large number of Mashona allies. Captain Lendy and Major Allan Wilson were in command, and Dr. Jameson and Sir John Willoughby accompanied them. It transpired that on the day

previous, the scouts of the column had encountered the Matabele, and after a sharp tussle the enemy had retreated, leaving twenty dead on the field; large numbers of the enemy had been seen, but they had disappeared on the day the columns united.

The two columns now advanced side by side; the Somabula Forest was passed without incident, and the 24th October found them at the Shangani river. The crossing of the stream was accomplished without opposition. But on the day after, when the column was in laager on low-lying ground close to the river in bushy country (the Mashonas being separately encamped a little distance off), shots rang out from the pickets at four in the morning, and it was evident that the long-expected battle was at hand. The pickets fell back on the laager, and the enemy in large numbers rushed on. Indistinguishable in the darkness that prevailed, they opened a sharp fire on the laager, and with great determination rushed up to the guns. The Maxims were by this time at work and a return fire was directed from the

column wherever the flashes from the enemy's rifles were seen. The issue was not long doubtful; dismayed by the fearful havoc wrought by the Maxims, the enemy wavered and broke up. Yet three times was the attack made, the last in the light of dawn, but with the same issue; and at length they sullenly retreated. Three detachments were despatched to clear the bush, and one of these met with a stubborn resistance, and when the enemy finally retired they were by no means disorganised. One man only of the two columns had been killed and comparatively few injured, but the Mashona encampment had been "rushed," and many of the allies slaughtered.

So ended the first battle of the campaign; it served to show once and for all that the Matabele could make no successful stand against the weapons of civilised warfare. A column of testimony exists as to the heroism of the natives; they charged to the very muzzle of the guns, and but for the deadly effect of the Maxims the result might have been different.



ONE OF LOBENGULA'S WIVES.

The columns now pushed straight on for the capital. No further resistance was experienced till on the 1st November they reached the Imbembesi river. Here at mid-day the laager was attacked by the king's best regiment, the Insukameni. Some alarm was experienced in the laager by a stampede of some of the horses which were at the moment of the attack on the river's brink. For a moment it seemed as if they were making for the enemy's position; but they were headed off. The battle of the Imbembesi resulted as the battle of the Shangani; the enemy could make no impression on the laager, their men fell by scores, and at the cost of three killed and seven wounded the column's way to Buluwayo was clear.

On the next day when the scouts were out in front of the columns they saw a great cloud of smoke rise over the hills in the direction of the capital; when eventually they reached the town they found little else but ruins. The king had fled, leaving instructions for the burning of the town if the issue of the fight on the Imbembesi should prove

unhappy; and the natives in their haste had blown up the powder supply. The first to greet the scouts were the two whites who had remained in the town during the progress of the war. Safety had been assured to them while the king was present, but after his flight their lives had been in serious jeopardy from the small bands of marauders who still lingered in the vicinity, and they were heartily relieved by the scouts' approach.

Buluwayo was eventually occupied on the 5th November by the combined columns. The English flag was hoisted, and the organisation of the district began.

Meanwhile, what of the southern column? Its progress from October 15th when it left Fort Tuli had been singularly uneventful. With the contingent of Mashonaland Police under Major Goold Adams and the Company's forces, and reinforced by a contingent of Khama's, it had been opposed in a singularly half-hearted manner by Gambo, the son-in-law of Lobengula, with an impi of 5,000 men. One skirmish had taken place at Impandinis kraal, when the natives had succeeded in

capturing some of the waggons, but had been eventually driven off with a loss of sixty men. It was in this battle that Mr. Selous had displayed such reckless courage and had been slightly wounded. It would seem that after this, Gambo had heard of the losses sustained by his countrymen at the Imbembesi and Shangani, and had drawn off without offering any further opposition.

At any rate, Major Goold Adams led his men into Buluwayo without further attack; Khama had withdrawn after the skirmish, alleging the necessity of his presence in his own country, and had taken his men with him; a course which exposed him at the time to much hostile criticism, but which was considered by those best qualified to judge as more than excusable.

We have thus reached the point at which the columns reunited at the capital. Before glancing briefly at the history of the after-campaign, two British losses, in addition to those already mentioned, claim our attention.

Mr. Burnett, one of the scouts attached to the main body, had lost his life under dis-

tressing circumstances. During the early part of the march he, in company with the other members of the scouting party, had ridden up to a small group of kraals, and, observing nothing suspicious, had entered them. One Matabele apparently was lurking in the huts, and this man had shot Mr. Burnett when he entered; the wound was mortal. Mr. Burnett was set on his horse, and the return journey to the main column was begun; but long before it could be reached he had expired. The other loss was that of Mr. Gwynneth Williams, the son of General Owen Williams. His party had been assailed by a formidable number of the enemy; as they were retiring before them, Mr. Williams' horse bolted and galloped down the line of the Matabele. His comrades were perforce separated from him, and he was never seen again alive. For a long time hope was entertained that Mr. Williams, who had been the recognised leader of all scouting expeditions by reason of his knowledge and resource, had found means of escape; it was not till the columns reached

Buluwayo that the truth was known. A detachment of the enemy pursued him; and when his horse could go no farther, he dismounted and took up his place on a small rise in the ground. Here he emptied his repeating rifle on his advancing foes, and then drew his revolver; but after killing several he himself fell with a wound in his forehead—a great loss, but a great example.

With the columns safe at the capital, and the natives seemingly only too anxious to come in and lay down their arms, one difficulty remained: the king had fled, and no communication could be established with him. He was reported to be a short distance northwest of the town, with a small band of his followers, but in great straits. It was not known whether he intended to retire across the Zambesi or to linger on in the hope of making another bid for his kingdom; but it was supposed that his passage across the Zambesi was blocked by a hostile tribe.

Dr. Jameson at length obtained two envoys who went through to the king's camp. They returned safely, and reported that the warriors

in general seemed tired of fighting, but that a few of the younger men from the regiments that had not up to this time been engaged were anxious to try the issue of another battle. The king himself sent pacificatory messages, and expressed himself as anxious to surrender; but, he pathetically asked, "Where am I to live?"

Yet, for all his messages, the king came not, and when the two days finally limited for his surrender had expired, and there were no signs of his approach, Dr. Jameson determined to send for him. It was felt that as matters then stood, the settlement of the country could in no way be proceeded with whilst the king remained at large in the vicinity with a number of his warriors round him who were not finally subdued. The detachment sent in pursuit of Lobengula was under the command of Major Forbes, and consisted of about 300 men drawn from the various columns, with Major Allan Wilson and Commander Raaff. Two Maxims went along with them.

The detachment took very little food with



MR. F. C. SELOUS.

them ; for it was expected to find the king at Umhlangani, forty miles from Buluwayo. But Lobengula was not found at Umhlangani, and leaving a detachment of men there Major Forbes pushed on down to the Bubyé river ; but still the waggons of the king eluded the pursuing column. The food supply of the column became exhausted, and the volunteers were consulted as to what course they would pursue, and whether they would follow the track of the king. A large number decided to go back, and the column thereupon returned as far as Shiloh.

Major Forbes sent for fresh supplies from the capital, those who were desirous so to do returned to Buluwayo, and the expedition restarted. The number of those who now proceeded on the king's track was not more than 150. Major Wilson and Commander Raaff went along with their respective detachments, and two Maxims were taken.

From Shiloh the small band followed the track of the king's company through difficult country, where progress for the waggons was slow. At length the news came that the

king's waggons were but a little distance ahead. Thereupon Major Forbes determined to follow the king at top speed, and to send his waggons back to Umhlangani. He himself, with about 140 men, with the two Maxims, pushed on in pursuit.

The column crossed the Bubyie and Gwambo, and by rapid stages approached the Shangani river.

Here traces were found that the king was near at hand; his last place of encampment was found at the edge of the bush. A native informed Major Forbes that the king was close by with a few attendants only, and thereupon Major Allan Wilson and twelve men were despatched along the spoor early in the afternoon. It was confidently expected that they would return before night.

But it was not to be. A different version of the strength of the king's adherents caused a re-examination of the native, who now confessed that he had lied. The truth was that a large impi was close at hand, and had been despatched against the column.

The night was now closing in; and in the

low-lying bush country, with the knowledge that the district was infested with the enemy's men, no further progress could be made that day; and Major Forbes determined to stay where he was for the night.

At this time two messengers came in from Wilson; he had crossed the river and come upon the king's waggons. The little band had ridden up to them and called for the king to come out and surrender; they had been met by the sounds of a large force preparing for defence, and Major Wilson had withdrawn a short distance. Major Forbes immediately despatched Captain Borrow with twenty men across the stream to support him; nothing more could be done till morning.

The next day proved eventful; with the light the column was on the move; but it had proceeded but a little way along the southern bank of the river when a heavy fire was directed upon it from the bush on the left. No further advance could then be made; the banks of the river rose sharply on the right, and the enemy on the left had the more advantageous position; the Maxims

were brought into action, and a sharp fight ensued. In the thick of the fight three messengers rode in from Wilson. A tremendous attack had been made upon him, and his position was becoming desperate. The messengers had barely managed to escape with their lives. But, worse than all, the river had risen rapidly in the night, and transit had become practically impossible; the horses had barely been able to breast the stream.

By this time the fire of the Maxims had silenced the enemy on the left, but though the bush had been cleared, it was at a cost of five men wounded and sixteen horses killed.

Firing was heard all this time on the farther bank, and it was evident that a desperate fight was proceeding. Yet no assistance could be rendered. The rising of the river had cut off all aid to the little party beyond, whilst on the southern bank the main body, it was clear, would have all it could do to hold its own.

Without supplies and with the river in front there was nothing for the main body to do but to retreat. It was hoped that Wilson's party might be strong enough to beat back

the enemy and retreat along the other bank ; a hope long indulged in but not fulfilled.

The retreat to Inyati was accompanied with the severest hardships. Long before it was reached, the patrol was reduced to living on horseflesh. Repeatedly harassed by the enemy, they slowly retired, fighting three battles before reaching their destination, and it was in a worn-out condition that they arrived.

Long was the delay before authentic news arrived of the fate of Wilson's band. Rumours were constant that they had made their way through the enemy, and in England these rumours were eagerly caught at, the comparative immunity from loss with which the war had been so far conducted lending assistance to their force. It was not sufficiently taken into account that Wilson's party would have to fight without the protection of Maxims or laager against an overwhelming force. At length the truth was known ; Wilson's party, surrounded by a whole horde of enemies, unable to retreat without leaving two of their party behind, had stood man to man until the last, firing till every shot was exhausted and

almost every man killed outright. Even the last survivor, behind a rampart of his dead comrades, had killed many of his foes, and when he too dropped the enemy hung back for some time in fear; and then, when they at length advanced, uttered loud praises of the dauntless heroism of the dead. The lesson of the last stand of the Shangani patrol will never be forgotten.

Of Lobengula's fate, too, it was long before news was obtained; reports of his death were frequent, but as in the Soudan, so here, it seemed as if the leader could never die, and even in the present year it was rumoured that he was still living, and would come again to drive out the white men. There seems, however, little room to doubt that he died of fever, possibly of a broken spirit, in the neighbourhood of the events last described, and not very long after them.

At one time it seemed as if the Home Government intended to interfere directly in the settlement of Matabeleland; but at length it was decided to leave the Company to carry out the work over which it had expended so

much of its force, and an agreement was entered into between the Government and the Company for the carrying out of the arrangements. The administrator of the Company was to be supported by a council of four persons, one of whom was to exercise judicial functions. Magistrates were to be appointed for the various districts, and a land commission established to deal with native settlements.

As in Mashonaland, so in Matabeleland, settlers followed the troops, and Buluwayo was soon fairly established upon European lines; the natives came in and laid down their arms, and peace appeared to be established.

CHAPTER III.

The Boers in Cape Colony—The Great Trek and its Causes—Abolition of Slavery—The Emigrants in Natal—The Murder of Pieter Retief—The Blood River—The Attack on Pondoland—The English in Natal—The Siege of the English Camp—The Withdrawal of the Emigrants—The Treaty States—The Orange River Sovereignty—The Battle of Boomplaats—The Attitude of Moshesh—The Battle of Vierveet—The Sand River Convention.

At this point in our story it becomes necessary to retrace our steps a little, and to obtain some idea of the origin and history of that much-discussed people, the Boers of South Africa.

It is not within the scope of this work to discuss the justification of any course of action taken from time to time, but merely to take note of it, and, as a result, the history of the annexation of the Transvaal in 1878 need not be preceded by any discussion of the much-vexed question how far the annexation itself

or how far the action of the Boers previously to it, were violations of prior agreements; and so there need be no special pause at that year. This sketch of Boer history is, then, divided down to the year 1884 into two periods, the one prior to the Sand River Convention in 1852, the other after that event. The Fifth Chapter includes the growth of the Rand and its effect on later history.

In the first place, who are the Boers? The Cape Colony was, in its origin, as is generally known, merely a convenient half-way house for the ships of the Dutch East India Company on their way to India, and a place where they might obtain fresh provisions. Yet it was not long before the Company discovered that to ensure a supply it was necessary to rely on others than the native Hottentots; and a certain number of settlers were taken out from Holland for the purpose of stock-raising. As might be supposed, these settlers were not of very high rank or of importance in their native land, but were persons who had suffered badly in pocket and reputation, and who were pressed into the service of the Company.

But the Colony expanded beyond the boundaries intended by the Company, and other settlers of various kinds arrived. A large number of refugee Huguenots came in; a contingent of marriageable Dutch girls was brought over; a decided sprinkling of other nations followed; and the country was rapidly overspread. Intermarriages between the several races took place, and it is from these unions that the Boer farmer of the period originated, the Dutch element having gradually absorbed the others. Boer farmers spread themselves out over large tracts of the country. They lived at considerable distances from one another on their farms; they were free from all outside interference; the officials of the Company did not trouble them; and they were in little need of facilities for exchange. From time to time they moved farther up country. This habit of life has impressed itself, one might almost say ineradicably, on their character. The Boer is one of the few men who possesses his ideal, and he is consequently entirely unprogressive. He prefers isolation, even from his next of kin, and will migrate or "trek" miles to get

it. He desires to live on his own farm-domain, a law unto himself, not that he is inclined to lawlessness, but the close organisation of a modern state is entirely foreign to his ideas. The concerns of others affect him not, and taxation is an utter anomaly. Add to this that his religion is compounded from extreme Old Testament fanaticism, and we have the fundamental principles of Boer life.

If we bear this in mind it becomes evident why one slight skirmish was sufficient to change the ownership of the Cape Colony from Dutch to English. There was no question of enforcing English rule upon a stubbornly resenting population. The farmers of the country had no particular care whether the English or Dutch flag waved over the Government buildings. The one thing they desired of Government was protection in their holdings, and in this respect they rather welcomed the English rule than otherwise. But with the English Government came a stronger central control and a system of taxation, neither of which pleased the farmers.

The great Boer trek of 1836 and the following years, the "migration from the Cape Colony of many thousands of substantial burghers, with the determination to seek a new home in the wilderness, where they would be free from what they regarded as intolerable oppression," is an event unique in the history of modern civilisation. Whether the Boers would, without any immediate cause, have carried out their "trek" in course of time as the population of the Colony increased, or whether they would have acquiesced in the new order of things, it is difficult to say. The fact remains; and as the causes of that "trek" are the causes of many of the difficulties between ourselves and the Boers, it will be well to pay some attention to them.

The Slachter's Nek rebellion of 1815, which was undoubtedly one of the causes of trouble later on, arose out of the difference of opinion of English and Boer as to the treatment of natives. To the Boer the native is what our friend Salvation Yeo would term "an Amalekite"; the methods of the children of Israel on the

way to the promised land the Boer considers should be adopted against the natives of South Africa. They may exist just so long as they cause no interference with the superior race; but otherwise they must be effaced; and they have no rights of property whatever. The Boer cannot be considered blameworthy in this, except in so far as he refuses to learn; it springs from his religious convictions; nay, more, it forms part of them. What was more blameworthy was the attempts of English missionaries of this period to make capital out of this feeling by repeated unfounded charges against the Boers of cruelty to the natives.

The rebellion arose from the attempted arrest of a Boer for cruelty; he resisted arrest, and was shot. His friends and neighbours rose in rebellion; the rising was repressed with a stern hand, and five of the ringleaders were condemned to execution. The arrangements for the execution were imperfect, and the unfortunate men, after being half hanged at the first attempt, were dragged back again and finally despatched. This was performed in the presence of a large crowd of sym-

pathisers, and the memory lingered long in their minds.

Passing over many minor points of difference, including the friction caused by the native question, we may select two chief causes for the great "trek."

One of these was the alleged neglect by the Government of the Colony to protect the outlying eastern districts from the Kaffir raids, especially at the end of the year 1834. The Government was in this matter in a serious dilemma. Territorial agreements had been come to with many of the chiefs whose districts lay nearest to the boundaries of the Colony, and they invariably disclaimed all knowledge of the raids in question. It was impossible to always keep a force on the boundaries adequate for the preservation of the district, and directly the forces were removed the Kaffirs swarmed in again. It was an instance of the humane yet futile policy of endeavouring to bind the petty chiefs of robber tribes with what was, in fact, moral force only. The Government was accused of favouring the natives at the

expense of the colonists. The result of this policy was that the farmers were left to shift as best they could, save when some petty chief openly violated his agreement, and, not unnaturally, the migratory habits of the Boer asserted themselves, and he had serious thoughts of retiring away from British rule and seeking a spot where his property might be more securely held and less consideration enforced for what was proving an ineffectual safeguard.

But undoubtedly the great cause of the emigration was (as already incidentally mentioned in the first chapter) the liberation of the slaves of the Colony, or rather, to do the emigrants justice, the way in which that liberation was carried out. The Boers themselves were, it may be believed, not disposed to resist the emancipation itself; a society for the gradual emancipation of female slaves had already been started; but the Home Government, in acting upon the tardily-expressed wish of the nation on the question, would brook no delay. Sir Benjamin d'Urban arrived in the Colony with orders for the

compulsory release of all slaves on the 1st December, 1834.

But this was not all. A large sum had been voted by the Home Government as compensation to the various slave-owners of the Colonies, but when it came to be distributed it was found that the amount paid in respect of each slave came to rather less than two-fifths of his value. This forcible realisation at such a tremendous discount was further aggravated by the fact that the Home Government, with an almost cynical disregard of Colonial interests, made the money payable only in London. This opened the way for an eminent financier, who came out to South Africa and bought up the reduced claims at a further heavy discount.

The effect of this emancipation was in the country districts ruinous. Mr. Cloete, in his lectures on the subject, says: "No pen can describe how this migration (*i.e.*, of the slaves) was felt; masters and mistresses who, up to the evening before, had forty, fifty, or some eighty persons engaged in keeping up extensive farming establishments, saw in one

moment the whole of their farming pursuits and plans destroyed; no bribe nor entreaty, I believe, did avail in one single instance to induce any one of those now free persons to stay over that day . . . and as misfortunes proverbially never come singly, the day for the general emancipation, without any thought of or reference to the general interests of the Colony, had been fixed for the very midst of the wheat harvest, which was seriously affected by it, for although in a very few instances some hands were induced by large rewards to stay just to cut down the crop, yet they also immediately followed their companions, all crowding to the towns and villages where they could find easy subsistence and easy work, so that on that day not only many of the agricultural farmers saw themselves reduced to poverty or distress by the paltry payments they had received, but were also deprived of the only means of cultivating their farms profitably for the future. . . .”

Almost paralysed by their losses, many of the farmers resolved to free themselves of the

yoke of the oppressor, and seek north of the Orange river the untrammelled existence which is their chief delight. The first party of emigrants set out very shortly after the emancipation was carried out, and for many years after, and even down to the present day, that stream of emigration has with varying force been flowing. The loss of these men was a grievous blow to the rising Colony; "No people," in Mr. Theal's opinion, "not of British descent ever presented such favourable material for the formation of a dependency loyal to Britain as did the South African colonists when, forty years before, they came by conquest under British rule"; they might be unprogressive, but made good settlers, though events have shown that they make lamentably bad citizens.

Strenuous efforts were made to retain them within its boundaries, but to little or no purpose. They withdrew from the Colony, and in their opinion as a consequence from English rule: they were to discover in later years that this latter was not so easy. One cannot regard the Boers at this juncture

otherwise than with sympathy. Obviously, as they went forth to the unfettered life which best pleased them, they are not entitled to quite the same regard as that which we bestow on the Pilgrim Fathers; but that they were the victims of a serious wrong is indisputable.

In the first chapter it has been mentioned that the emigrants came across the Matabele in their first journeys; the battle of Vechtkop left the Boers under Potgieter in possession of the field indeed, but at a cost of all their cattle, which were carried off by the enemy. After the arrival of more emigrants, however, the war was carried into the enemy's country with the greatest success, so great, indeed, that from this and other reasons, as we have seen, the Matabele withdrew across the waters of the Limpopo; the territory they had occupied was proclaimed, and many emigrants settled themselves in the vacated district.

A large contingent of the Boers found their way across the Drakensberg into the present Colony of Natal. Port Natal was then the home of a few Englishmen attracted by the

prospects of trade, and they had gathered around them a large number of refugee natives who had fled from the victorious arms of the Zulu chiefs Chaka and Dingaan, the latter of whom had by this time succeeded to the throne of the former. The Port was held by the few English mentioned on a grant from Dingaan, who ruled all the surrounding territories. Dingaan was a more ferocious savage even than his predecessor. His delight in cruelty was fiendish, his warlike prowess unequalled amongst the native races; and so all the country round was deluged with blood. The Zulu power was at its zenith.

At the head of the Boers who, with their wives and families, advanced into this dangerous strip of country was Pieter Retief, a man of the greatest ability and entirely fitted to carry through the work he and his fellow-countrymen had in hand—the founding of a new home beyond the Drakensberg.

To Dingaan Retief repaired in October, 1837, with a few of his followers, and requested a grant of territory. Dingaan received

them with the greatest civility, and appeared to consent to the request of Retief; a document was drawn up for the purpose of defining the cession of territory, and Dingaan only required of Retief that he should exhibit his good-will to him by recapturing some cattle Dingaan alleged had been stolen from him. This Retief and his followers did, but when they returned to the king at the capital of Umkungunhlovo, instead of any grant being made to them, they were decoyed and slain. The Zulus then burst out upon the emigrants who had come in under Retief, and were scattered up and down the district. Many were slain at Weenen; but the alarm was raised and the camps defended; the Zulus were repulsed and retired. Many of the emigrants now counselled retirement from a district of such evil omen; but the women of the party were eager in exhorting their husbands and brothers to fight.

Potgieter hastened across the Drakensberg to the relief of his countrymen, and it was determined to avenge Retief and those killed at Weenen; the English at the Port also marched

with the refugee natives to attack the Zulus. The Boers engaged the enemy on the 11th April, 1838. They were entrapped into a narrow defile, but fought their way out with the utmost gallantry ; the English were less successful. They were defeated at the river Tugela and completely broken up, and their leaders killed. The Zulus marched into Port Natal and killed all they could find; but some had escaped into the surrounding country.

In September, Potgieter retired across the Drakensberg, but his place was taken soon afterwards by Andries Pretorius, who arrived with a great number of emigrants. The murder of Retief was revenged on December 18th on the banks of the river afterwards called (in memory of the event) Blood river. Here the Zulus were totally routed, and Pretorius soon afterwards marched into their capital. Dingaan's power was broken, and he entered into treaty with the emigrants; but he did not himself long survive, and the Boers eventually entered into a territorial agreement with Panda, his successor, and established themselves in Natal. The boun-

dary which separated them from the Zulus was the Tugela river, and beyond this to the north Panda held sway as a vassal to the white men. The first Volksraad (the Boer Parliament) was established, and the Colony was divided into the three districts of Pietermaritzburg, Weenen, and Port Natal. The farmers across the Drakensberg, who had by this time established themselves north as well as south of the Vaal river, were of course close allies; and the two Volksraads of the districts respectively north and south of the Vaal—Potchefstroom and Winburg—formed an “adjunct Raad” or federated Parliament with that of Natal.

It was the policy of the English home Government at this time not to extend British possessions in Africa, and in accordance with this no steps had been taken to follow up the English settlers who have already been mentioned as in possession of Port Natal. Sir George Napier, during his Governorship, frequently impressed on the Government the desirability of the occupation of Natal, but without effect.

But the acquisition of Natal by the Boers put a different aspect on matters in South Africa; for the emigrants asked to be treated as independent, and proposed entering into a treaty with the Cape Colony; and an independent State, with an excellent harbour such as Port Natal was, might constitute a dangerous commercial rival to the Cape Colony; and from this time forward the home Government began to contemplate the occupation of Natal. In the meantime, be it remembered, the home Government never recognised the emigrants in any other light than as their subjects.

In January, 1841, the Boers, having by this time settled down in their new abode, promulgated a treaty for signature by the English Government. It proposed a close alliance between the Republic of Natal and Britain, provided for the neutrality of the Republic in any war by the mother country, and made a declaration against slavery throughout the district. This treaty was forwarded to the Colony; but before the Government had taken any cognizance of it an attack was made by

the Boers on some tribes in Pondoland who, they alleged, had been engaged in cattle-lifting, and Faku, the ruler of that part of Pondoland nearest to the Cape Colony, made an appeal for protection to the Cape Government.

The Governor of the Colony had already during the raids of Chaka experienced the disastrous results of an external pressure upon the tribes lying nearest to the Colony, and was not minded to have a repetition of them. The result of the Boers' attack upon Ncapayi (the name of the chief of the Pondo tribe) was that Faku was specially protected by British arms in January, 1841, and that in September the Emigrant Government was informed that their independence was not recognised by Her Majesty. Further than this, the Republic was informed that the attacks upon natives would not be permitted, and that a detachment of soldiers would be sent to the Colony.

In accordance with this intent a force of over 200 men with three guns left its station in Pondoland on the 1st April, 1842, marched for Natal, and arrived on the coast near Port Natal

on the 4th May. No immediate fight ensued, but the Volksraad determined to resist what was in effect the annexation of the Colony. Major Smith, the officer in command of the British force, was ordered to quit the district, to which command his reply was a simple negative. On the 24th May he attempted to assail the Boer position at night, but was driven back on his camp, and there closely besieged by the Boers under the leadership of Pretorius. He managed to send messages to the Colony, and then prepared for the worst. The Boers were strengthened by adherents from the other side of the Drakensberg, and pressed hard on the beleaguered camp. But on the 18th June the English man-of-war *Southampton* arrived at the Port, and bringing her heavy guns to bear, drove the farmers from their position on the Point, and so enabled a small vessel to slip into the harbour with provisions and reinforcements. No further resistance could be made by the emigrants, who sullenly retired, and the siege was raised.

Major Smith's next endeavour was to come to terms with the emigrants, who had, at any

rate, a strong claim to the country which they had wrested from Dingaan's hordes; nor had the English any wish to oust them. The Volksraad met, and long and stormy debates took place with regard to the acceptance of the conditions which were proposed by Major Smith, agent for the Government of the Colony, for the basis of settlement of the district; the one stumbling-block was the condition of equality between white and black races. The Boers would surrender their independence, but not their racial superiority. This point was but one phase of the eternal native question to which reference has already been made, and the Boers clung to their position with the greatest tenacity.

The Volksraad of Natal at length, after much angry discussion, yielded perforce to the conditions proposed. But the greater number of the emigrants withdrew across the Drakensberg again, and sought those of their comrades who were now established between the Vaal and the Orange rivers. On the 21st August, 1844, Natal was proclaimed British territory as parcel of the Cape Colony.

It was not till a much later date that it became a separate Crown Colony.

We must at this point follow the emigrants back across the Drakensberg, and see what was the position there. A large number of the still-seceding emigrants were by this time settled both south and north of the Vaal river, in what are now the respective territories of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. As previously mentioned, the Volksraad had been established at Winburg and Potchefstroom in the two respective districts, and this exercised jurisdiction over the majority of the settlers. As may be imagined, the country was very irregularly peopled, long stretches being sometimes entirely uninhabited. Besides these settlements there were a large number of emigrants in the extreme south of the present Free State, along the banks of the Caledon and Orange rivers. These were inhabitants of the extreme north of the Cape Colony, who had encroached little by little for the purpose of pasturing their cattle, and who had no such grievance against

the English rule as had their kinsmen further north and in Natal.

Those of the Boers who declined to submit to the new order of things in Natal settled in various parts of the districts in question ; and those of them who settled along the Caledon brought with them the most bitter feelings of antipathy against the English.

As if to unite these two parties, the English Government set themselves to carry out a plan which ultimately proved most disastrous, and which produced the opposition of all classes of the Boers—this plan was the creation of the native Treaty States.

There existed at this time, along what is now the southern border of the Orange Free State, two loosely compacted organisations of natives. The western one of these extends round Philippolis and the Caledon, and the other and more powerful on the south-east of the former state. The western one was under the chieftainship of one Adam Kok, and was composed of a nomad tribe of Griquas, few in number ; the eastern was led

by the Basuto chief Moshesh, the Chief of the Mountain (so called from the fact of his having at the time of the Zulu raids sheltered himself in the stronghold of Thaba Bosigo), who had collected around him a large number of the tribes broken by the onslaught of the Zulus, and who had in the course of time become a powerful chief. The plan of the English Government was to apportion the territory along the Orange river between these two chiefs, who were to be in alliance with England and so to form a complete barrier of native states along the north border of the Cape Colony, and beyond the Drakensberg to extend this barrier by an alliance with Faku, the Chief of Pondoland. The treaties with Adam Kok and Moshesh carrying these ideas into effect was signed on the 5th October, 1843. But the plan was destined to failure from the outset. Even the more peaceful section of the Boers, who had slowly encroached on a district they had found unoccupied, and had in many instances leased land from the native chiefs, and who would have had no objection to coming under the

English flag, bitterly resented their attempted subjection to petty native sovereigns. Skirmishes immediately began between them and the Griquas, and Adam Kok appealed for protection to the Cape Colony. A military detachment was sent up to his assistance, and dispersed the farmers in a skirmish at Zwart Kopjes on the 10th April, 1845.

The discontent of the Boers increased. Further undoubted grievances had arisen in connection with the settlement of their land claims in Natal, and Pretorius, who had been a warm advocate of their rights, brought back with him across the Drakensberg many of those who had till this time remained. Potgieter and his adherents were bent on escaping still further from English rule, and they, with many of the more southern emigrants, withdrew across the Vaal river, and the Transvaal became much more thickly populated. Lydenberg was founded in 1846.

It was now already recognised that the Treaty States were an entire failure; yet it was not desirable to abrogate the treaties entirely. Sir Peregrine Maitland, the then Governor of

Cape Colony, tried the plan of apportioning the districts between the white and black races. But this, too, broke down, as Moshesh declined to grant any appreciable portion of his territory for the use of the emigrants. Conferences and Commissions of Enquiry benefited nothing, and till the year 1847 no definite decision was arrived at.

With the advent of Sir Harry Smith as Governor, in the latter end of that year, a more vigorous policy was initiated. His first act was to effect the cancellation of the treaties; and on the 8th of March, 1848, he proclaimed the British sovereignty over the district lying between the Vaal and the Orange rivers, under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty. But this course of action came too late; it might have caused no resistance some years previously, but the temper of the Boers had changed, and those living in the vicinity of the Modder river, who had been unaffected by the Treaty States disputes, were not minded to see their independence destroyed. They determined to resist by force of arms, and proceeded, as soon

as the Governor had returned to the South, to turn out the newly-appointed English officials. Pretorius was summoned from beyond the Vaal to the assistance of his countrymen, and on the 17th of July arrived at Bloemfontein with 400 men. Sir Harry Smith hastened from Cape Town with the Imperial troops, and on the 29th August, 1848, the Boers resisted their further march at Boomplaats. An obstinate struggle followed; the Boers, in a strong position in the hills, for a long time held their own; driven back from one commanding position, they retired to the next; but three hours' fighting sufficed to win the last position—the farmers turned and fled. The number of Boers killed is uncertain; the English lost twenty-two men, including native allies.

The Sovereignty was forthwith re-established over the disaffected district, and the British officials reinstated. The Governor offered a reward of £2,000 for the capture of Pretorius, and he and many of his countrymen betook themselves across the Vaal.

But that which the farmers could not obtain

for themselves directly was destined soon to be obtained indirectly through the instrumentality of Moshesh. This chief, when the boundaries of the various tribes in the south of the Sovereignty came to be settled, made the most extravagant territorial demands, and claimed the sovereignty of all the tribes along the Caledon river. Matters at length came to a crisis between him and the English Government; he refused to surrender some cattle taken by him from a neighbouring chief over whom he claimed lordship, and fighting broke out.

Moshesh had chosen a good time for his rebellion. The Cape Government was fully occupied with a Kaffir outbreak in the south, and could ill spare men for action against Moshesh. The farmers of the Sovereignty were called upon for service; but their turn had come, and the majority of them refused. Moshesh seized his opportunity; he began negotiations with the malcontents, while he harried the farms of those who assisted the English. The defeat of the English force at Verveet on the 30th June, 1851, showed that

the fighting was not to be a light matter ; and meanwhile the malcontent Boers had made peace with Moshesh and put themselves in communication with Pretorius across the border, and invited him to assume the position of Administrator-General. Major Warden, who was in command at Bloemfontein, saw that if Moshesh were to join forces with the Boers across the Vaal the English must infallibly be swept out of the Sovereignty ; and he strongly advised coming to terms with Pretorius.

Meanwhile Pretorius had put himself in communication with Major Warden, and expressed the desire of the farmers beyond the Vaal to enter into a treaty with the English Government. Sir Harry Smith, on receipt of this intelligence, appointed two Commissioners to enquire into the state of affairs in the Sovereignty, and they reported that very considerable benefits would arise from the acknowledgment of the independence of the Transvaal.

In fact, it was the only course possible for the English Government if the Sovereignty was to be retained.

The outlawry of Pretorius was reversed, and a conference was arranged for. It was held on the Sand river on the 16th January, 1852, and on the 17th the Sand River Convention was signed.

By the first clause of this Convention the Commissioners guaranteed on behalf of the British Government to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal river "the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws without any interference on the part of the British Government, and that no encroachment shall be made by the said Government on the territory beyond to the north of the Vaal river; with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British Government is to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse with the emigrant farmers now inhabiting, or who may hereafter inhabit, that country; it being understood that the system of non-interference is binding upon both parties."

By the third clause all alliances with the British Government with coloured natives north of the Vaal were disclaimed.

By the fourth clause no "slavery shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal river by the emigrant farmers."

By other clauses all trading in ammunition with native tribes was prohibited by both parties on both sides of the Vaal river, and the mutual delivery of all criminals was arranged for.

This Convention was approved by the home Government and the Volksraad, and the independence of the Transvaal was secured.

CHAPTER IV.

The Independence of the Transvaal—The End of the Orange River Sovereignty—The Struggle with Moshesh—The Annexation of Basutoland—The Failure of the Transvaal Republic—The Attack on the Bapedi—Dr. Livingstone—Death of Pretorius—The Union of the Four Districts—M. W. Pretorius, Founder of Pretoria—Boer Policy—The Schoeman Rebellion—President Burgers' Financial Distress—The Struggle with Sekukuni—The English Annexation—Reasons for the Annexation—The Deputations to England—The Zulu War—Growth of Dissatisfaction—Sir Owen Lanyon—Sir Bartle Frere—The Bezuidenhout Incident—Rebellion breaks out—Brunker's Spruit—Siege of the Towns—Sir George Colley at Newcastle—Laing's Nek—Majuba Hill—The Armistice—Convention of Pretoria—Bechuanaland Troubles—Convention of London—Renewed Financial Distress.

FROM this time onwards the history of the Boers becomes for our purpose the history of the Transvaal Republic. Yet it is well to clear up shortly the history of the other new Free State of South Africa.

The malcontents of the Orange River Sovereignty, deserted by their Transvaal allies, were for the time being compelled to yield to British influence; yet the same cause that gave the Transvaal its independence interfered to establish its independence also, though in a manner at the time hardly desirable to the inhabitants. Moshesh had defeated the English power once, and he saw no reason for surrendering his opposition. In the latter end of 1852, Sir George Cathcart marched against him at the head of a large force; it was generally thought it was strong enough to proceed to Thaba Bosigo and take it without difficulty; but the battle of Berea, in December, 1852, showed that the enemy had been underrated. These Basutos of Moshesh had a strong organisation, and their country was admirably suited for defensive tactics; and the battle of Berea, in fact, resulted in their favour, and Sir George Cathcart, having lost thirty-seven men, on the next day commenced a retreat. Moshesh was anxious on his part also; he had the cleverness to recognise that his people had en-

gaged a mere handful of men compared to what might be brought against him, and he sent proposals of peace. To these Sir George Cathcart agreed.

The immediate results of this was that the Orange River Sovereignty was abandoned, and early in 1854 a special commission from England arrived to hand over the government. This proposal caused great consternation to the inhabitants; were they to be left to shift for themselves against the unbroken power of Moshesh, who was now flushed with victory? But the Home Government was inexorable; and the power of gold was freely employed to buy the support of those who were most hostile to the transfer of government. The necessary convention was signed on the 23rd February, 1854, by Sir George Russell Clark as Commissioner, and various delegates from the different districts of the Sovereignty; the future independence of the country and its government was guaranteed; and it was agreed that the independence of the country should be ratified by an instrument freeing the people from their allegiance; alliances of

Her Majesty's Government with tribes north of the Orange (other than Adam Kok) were disclaimed; the possessions of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Sovereignty were guaranteed and immunity was assured to them; and the usual clauses as to the surrender of criminals and the abolition of slavery were inserted. The English Government was finally withdrawn on the 11th of March, and the Boers and natives were left to fight out their points of difference.

Fighting soon broke out; Moshesh made territorial claims to which the Republic (for the inhabitants of the country had by this time formed their government) could not and would not submit. The war was carried on for ten years, with greater or less intervals of peace; but at length the indomitable perseverance of the Republic was rewarded, and Moshesh was forced to come to terms.

But Moshesh had lost none of his cunning; he turned in his difficulties to the British Government, who determined to annex Basutoland. The Orange Free State protested strongly against this course, but they were

powerless to resist the apportionment made, which left them the Caledon river as their eastern boundary.

Difficulties with England again arose in 1869, when the Kimberley diamond mines were discovered; this rich territory seemed clearly to form part of the Republic; but a Griqua was produced to say the land was his, and that he was prepared to dispose of it to the English. Eventually the dispute was compromised by the payment of £90,000 to the Republic in settlement of its claim.

Since this time the Republic has prospered; it has abstained carefully from the quarrels of its neighbours, and has been rewarded by an era of prosperity.

Up to the time of the signing of the Sand River Convention, I do not think even the greatest anti-Boer amongst us will decline to accord some praise to the emigrants. Their unflinching and indomitable perseverance, their iron endurance under the most severe trials, the religious spirit in which they accepted danger and defeat, wins our admiration; we cannot think ill of the offspring of

the women who loaded the guns at Vecktkop, and who vowed that they must not leave Natal till the murder of Retief was avenged ; and we should hope to find that, their independence won, those qualities which sustained them on their wanderings formed by degrees a prosperous and harmonious State.

Unfortunately the facts are far otherwise ; it cannot be fairly said that during the twenty-six years that elapsed before its annexation the Transvaal Republic ever looked like a success. It is a story of slow deterioration, culminating on the very brink of disaster ; and whilst the war of controversy rages over the rights and wrongs of our annexation, we must not forget that the annexed district trembled on the verge of bankruptcy, discredit, and destruction.

The nativity of the State born in the hour of England's weakness, not in that of her strength, was ill-starred ; external and internal danger loomed large from the outset ; civil dissension was rife ; native hostility was smouldering.

Up to this point we have only taken notice of the fact that from time to time various con-

tingents of the emigrants had crossed the Vaal river and settled in the district beyond ; it will be well to see how they had been distributed.

And, first of all, it is necessary to remember that the boundaries of the district were very shadowy, nominally the Limpopo on the north, the Vaal on the south, the Swazis and Zulus on the east, and the Bechuana tribes on the west ; but the native boundaries were difficult of determination, and in the proclamation that accompanied the annexation in 1877, it is stated that there had been considerable retrocession by the Boers from the Limpopo. Within the district there were at the time of the Convention about five thousand families ; and they had grouped themselves into four départements—Potchefstroom on the south, Lydenburg on the east, Zoutspanberg on the north, and Rustenburg toward the west. The most important of these departments was that which surrounded the town of Potchefstroom, which, it will be remembered, was founded by Potgieter on his return from Natal. The four departments were at the date of the Conven-

tion entirely independent of one another, each having its own commandant or chief of the Executive ; but the Volksraad was nominally the supreme authority, and this was common to the four departments. It may well be imagined that four departments acting separately over such a small population was worse than two kings of Brentford ; and in addition to the inhabitants of the departments there were a large number of refugees from the Cape Colony and elsewhere, who clustered on the borders of the State, and owed, in fact, no obedience to anyone ; it was these persons, in fact, who caused much of the opprobrium attached to the Boers in connection with land-grabbing and child-stealing on the frontier ; and the Central Authority was not responsible except to the extent that a State must be responsible for the acts of its inhabitants ; a rule which acts exceptionally severely in application to a State founded in such circumstances as caused the Sand River Convention.

As members of the Executive, in addition to the commandants and field-cornets of the various districts who formed part of the mili-

tary service (which has always been compulsory on all men between eighteen and sixty if called upon, though those between twenty-five and forty are the first to be summoned), there were magistrates, for the various districts, called landdrosts, who performed almost all the civil functions of the district. This constituted the whole simple form of administration.

From the very commencement the Boers were engaged in native troubles. Successive wars with the Bapedi, the Bekwana, and the Barolong took place. We are now approaching the period in their history at which the conduct of the Boers becomes tinged with events that followed; that is to say, a certain class of writers viewing events, as it were, from the summit of Majuba Hill, can see no excuses for the misgovernment which brought about the annexation in 1877, while another class, unable to forget the wrongs of the English occupation, vigorously refute every charge of cruelty, land-grabbing, or slavery. This makes it increasingly difficult to find the truth as to the quarrels with the

natives which occupy the quarter of a century with which we are now dealing. The second of these two disputes (that with the Bekwana under Sechele) is further complicated by the fact that it was during the fighting that Dr. Livingstone's house was looted. It is generally believed that the Boers were responsible for this piece of wanton savagery, and there is no reason to doubt that Dr. Livingstone belonged to a class for whom the Boers (not altogether unreasonably) entertained a bitter hatred. Mr. Theal, in his "History of the Boers in South Africa," goes fully into the evidence on the point, and seems inclined to sum up for an acquittal, and to impute the mischief to marauding natives. These three small wars terminated in the Boers' favour, and for a time, at least, the harm caused by the successful stand of Moshesh in the south was stayed.

Divided in council as the Boers already were, they were destined to still further misfortunes. In the year 1853 they lost by death their two most prominent citizens, Potgieter and Pretorius. The latter stands

out pre-eminently as typical of the best qualities of the Boer ; his life had been one of devotion to the cause his countrymen had at heart, and he had laboured earnestly throughout. From an English standpoint his military career is marred by many undoubtedly cruel acts to natives, and in particular, by the murder of two of Dingaan's envoys for peace during the Natal war ; but it must be remembered that from the standpoint of his race these acts lose much of their heinous character. He was the foremost man of his time, and his loss was almost irreparable.

Yet one good issue sprang from his death : gratitude to their dead leader caused a rally round his son Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, and he was made President of the Republic ; this office being now instituted for the first time. In honour, moreover, of the hero, the town of Pretoria was founded, and it was destined to be the centre of a fifth department of the Republic. But other events made for the unity of the departments. Already the department of Lydenburg had absorbed the neighbouring one of Zoutspan-

berg, and the growing importance of Potchefstroom pointed to a further amalgamation. It was not, however, until 1860 that the five departments were united, with Pretoria as the capital.

The President and the Volksraad with him attempted no change in Boer policy; the main idea of the period which follows is that of obtaining at all hazards complete isolation from outsiders; every effort was made to restrain the opening up of the interior of the continent towards the north; missionary work amongst the natives was hindered, and more than one missionary was expelled. The affair of Mr. Inglis created a good deal of sensation in this respect; he had published an article denouncing the child-stealing expeditions of the Boers amongst neighbouring tribes, and calling upon some Power to interfere in the matter, as the peace of the continent was being endangered. That expulsion should follow on this is not, perhaps, altogether surprising. Outside interference was the red rag to the Boer bull; and to have openly advocated in their midst that which they had

endured fifteen years' wandering and fighting to escape would be galling to the most long-suffering people. In view of the clause of the Convention referred to in the last chapter containing a prohibition of slavery among the Boers, the question how far the apprenticeship system in which they indulged amounted in fact to the practice of slavery is one of extreme importance. The system certainly entailed forced labour without remuneration, but it was claimed for it that the children were freed at an early age. Mr. Nixon, in his "Complete Story of the Transvaal," has collected the evidence on this point against the Boers, and it is contended, moreover, that the proclamation of Pretorius to the landdrosts calling for the report by them of any case of slavery that came to their notice, is a proof of the existence of slavery. The further examination of this question, and the discussion as to how far the terms of the Sand River Convention contemplate the assumption (if it can in truth be so called) of British domination over the Transvaal in case of the violation of this clause of the Convention do

not fall within our scope. We need only add that if Khama's word was worth then what it is unquestionably reckoned as worth now, the case against the Boers is a very strong one to meet; on the other hand, no mention of such violation (except by a very remote inference) is made in Sir Theophilus Shepstone's proclamation of annexation.

The President, after an ineffectual attempt to annex the neighbouring Orange Free State, disappeared from the Transvaal and was elected President of the Free State. With wondrous forbearance the Volksraad of the Transvaal re-elected him on his return, but a rebellion broke out; the deputy of Pretorius during his absence, one Schoeman, declined to surrender his position on the former's return; so a somewhat protracted struggle ensued, in which the present President, Paul Kruger, as commander for Pretorius, greatly distinguished himself; and Schoeman was eventually subdued.

At length Pretorius disgraced himself in the eyes of his countrymen and fell from his high position, and it must be confessed that,

bearing in mind the forgiveness extended to him for the erratic conduct last described, the fact that he was deposed because in an arbitration, which took place with reference to a piece of territory claimed by the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Griqualand West, he was not successful in obtaining the award for his countrymen, points to the fact that the Boer cares more about acquiring fresh territory than having an efficient ruler over that already possessed. However that may be, Pretorius was defeated for the Presidency in 1871, and President Burgers took his place.

Even the scanty chronicles of Transvaal history which are ours seem to show that the new President was from the outset engaged in a struggle to bring his countrymen to adopt a more forward policy, for by the time of his election the Republic was far advanced on the road to ruin. The Boer had demonstrated his utter lack of comprehension of the meaning of State life. The only purpose for which the farmers could be brought together was a military expedition ; when this was over each

returned to his own farm, and there he remained. He was utterly obdurate to the claims of the tax-gatherer; he had all he wanted; why should he be mulcted? After all, his feelings were not unlike those of many a suburban ratepayer who spends half his time in grumbling at the rates, and the other half abusing the local authority for insufficient lighting and paving. But the difference is that the ratepayer pays; the Boer did not. The result was that the finances of the country were, in the year 1871, in an almost hopeless condition. The wiser conduct of the few urban Boers and the English population was insufficient. The salaries of officials were in arrear; the issue of paper-money, which the Volksraad had sanctioned, was depreciated to the extent of 75 per cent.; the Treasury was empty.

Burgers set himself to remedy this; he was one of the few men of his race who have ever perceived that progress was essential; he also had an intuitive perception of the right path of progress; and had he been ably assisted by a practical fellow-statesman the history of the

Transvaal might have been different. But the President lacked system in the work he had set himself; and he had no coadjutor. He had to drag all his countrymen after him; and the task was too great. Mr. Nixon says of him in his "Complete Story of the Transvaal": "It cannot be denied that he was sincere in his aspirations, and that at the outset he hoped to make of the seven or eight thousand half-educated Boers under him a great nation, to be the pioneers of a movement that should supersede English domination in every part of South Africa. In pursuit of this impossible ideal he exhausted his private fortune and shattered his health. He lived to see himself baffled and defeated by the very people whom he had hoped to use as a means of attaining the lofty ends he set before himself. He was at last compelled to resign his position to an official of that Government which he hoped to supersede, and he was vilified as a traitor by his own countrymen." When it is mentioned that President Burgers' chief project involved the laying of a railway from Delagoa Bay, it will be seen at once how

little this project would be likely to meet with acceptance by the party of isolation. "But nothing daunted Burgers. He determined to appeal to the race feelings of the Dutch in Europe, and in 1875 he made a journey to Holland for that purpose. His energetic and eloquent declamation produced an effect, and the cautious Hollanders were induced to lend him £79,000. Burgers at once saw the railway made. He bought large quantities of rolling stock, including (characteristically enough) a State carriage for himself. He distributed commissions right and left, and on the faith of great sums to come, spent more than he had received. The railway plant was delivered at Delagoa Bay before an inch of the railway was constructed or properly surveyed" ("Complete Story of the Transvaal"). The plant never got farther than Delagoa Bay, and of Burgers' railway there is no trace.

But the crowning disaster to the Transvaal was to come not from internal but external means. Fighting broke out with Sekukuni, chief of the Bapedi. The quarrel originated

in a territorial dispute. The Boers marched against the enemy with their allies the Swazis, who were old enemies of the Bapedis. It would seem as if the internal confusion of the Republic had paralysed the Boers, for it is certain that no army ever gave a more inglorious exhibition ; their allies were left to do all the fighting during the first part of the campaign. When left to their own resources, the white men absolutely refused to face the enemy, and fled.

The moral effect of this disaster on the neighbouring tribes was grievous ; it seemed as if from almost every quarter an attack might be made upon the enfeebled State : Cetewayo, the Zulu king, in particular, hovered upon the border, and was restrained from attack only by British influence in Natal.

There is no reason to doubt that the threatening native tribes had genuine grievances against the Boers, apart altogether from the slavery question. Territory had undoubtedly been taken from them bit by bit on the borders of the State ; the only matter to urge in mitigation is that the action was due to those

lawless characters who infested the outskirts of the Colony—and who would in a well-organised State have been effectually suppressed, but who, in the disorganisation that prevailed, were absolutely unchecked—and not to any deliberate intention of the Government; whilst, at any rate, the Bapedi were destined to prove themselves very hostile to white rule, even after their chief provocation had been removed. Since the signing of the Sand River Convention, England's interests in Africa had enormously increased, and she could not stand by impassively and see the results that must of necessity follow from the Boers fighting for their existence with countless hordes of natives. It was evident by this time that the Republic had failed. On all the borders, threatening natives; in the interior, strife, a threatened civil war on the occasion of the next Presidential election, lawlessness uncontrolled, bankruptcy imminent.

Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, at this juncture then intervened. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the Native Secretary of Natal, was sent to Pretoria armed with

a Commission very extensive in its terms. He was to make enquiry into the recent disturbances which endangered the peace of South Africa, and to confer with the President on a question which was then greatly agitated in many circles in England—the confederation of South Africa—and if the people of the Transvaal agreed to such a course, power was given him to annex the State.

The circumstances in which the annexation of the Transvaal took place are much involved. Sir Theophilus Shepstone received memorials and addresses which seem to have convinced him that the majority of the Boers desired it; and Burgers himself seems by this time to have been thoroughly wearied of the task of attempting to bring his recalcitrant people into line with his own ideas. He protested against the annexation, but it was generally believed the protest was half-hearted. Sir Theophilus Shepstone no doubt believed that annexation was the wisest course, and this feeling may have led him to underrate the opposition, and to take the views of the English and more enlightened Boers of Pre-

toria as expressive of those of the rustic population. The fact remains that Sir Theophilus Shepstone formally annexed the Republic to Great Britain by proclamation on the 12th April, 1877, and that there quickly followed a widely-signed protest against it.

The proclamation embodied the reasons for the annexation, viz., the failure of the State to effectively govern its territories, and the consequent retrocession which had taken place; the intestine disturbances and confusion, with the consequent temptation to native powers to attack the State, and the failure of the war with Sekukuni; and declared that Her Majesty's Government could not permit the ravaging of Boer territory. No mention was made of the slavery question as a breach of the Sand River Convention; but this argument was freely used in the House of Commons during the debates on the subject, and forms one of the staple reasons in favour of the annexation. Needless to say, the act of annexation is a subject which has been the ground of much debate. Those who take the side of the Transvaal contend that the native difficulty

has been grossly exaggerated, and that the Boers could easily have resisted any invading force, and if so that the financial state of the country was not England's concern. The supporters of the annexation contend that the action of England was entirely justified by the imminent danger of the native attack, and that even if Sir Theophilus Shepstone was too quick in believing that he had the will of the people with him, yet to have stood aside at the crisis that was impending would have been a heartless policy; and, further, as previously stated, that the violation of the Convention justified the resumption of the district by the English Government.

The short period of English rule in the Transvaal is not one that will ever be regarded with pleasure. We never seemed likely to obtain a hold upon the country: discontent was always smouldering; and the only wonder is that rebellion did not break out before it actually did.

For some time affairs progressed favourably; the natives were warned off the country, and finances were regulated. But the people soon

began to think that the English Government was very slow in fulfilling its promises. Sir Theophilus Shepstone had promised that "the Transvaal should remain a separate government, with its own laws and legislature, and that it was the wish of Her Majesty's Government that it should enjoy the fullest legislative privileges compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of its people." Yet as Administrator he filled the various offices with his friends from Natal, and made no sign of any step towards self-government for the country; and the presence of the English soldiers was a cause of constant irritation. A deputation for England, consisting of Messrs. Kruger and Jorissen, started on the 9th May, but gained nothing, except the assurance from Lord Carnarvon that the Home Government intended to retain the Transvaal, and that the act of annexation could never be reversed, though a full measure of self-government would be accorded. With this statement before them they returned home; but at a meeting held in January, 1878, Mr. Kruger informed his countrymen that he had assur-

ances from Lord Carnarvon that the annexation would be given up if a sufficiently large majority of the inhabitants declared themselves in favour of such a course. Whereupon Messrs. Kruger and Joubert were armed with an extensively signed memorial, and again proceeded to England, to meet with the same answer. To say that they returned with the conviction that a rebellion would follow, sooner or later, is probably not an exaggeration.

The determination of the Boers for independence was not a change of front. Those who clamoured for independence were those who had lived far away from the towns, and had not at first comprehended that annexation had taken place: all their old fury for independence reasserted itself, and they were joined in their discontent by the more educated inhabitants of the towns, who were incensed at the non-fulfilment of the promises held out.

Sir Bartle Frere was at this time the High Commissioner for South Africa. He had been sent out to forward Lord Carnarvon's scheme

for the federation of South Africa under the British Crown. He, on the whole, stood well with the Boers; and whilst assuring them that the act of annexation was irrevocable, he encouraged their hopes for self-government; and had he been left to South Africa for a while longer there is no doubt that the measures for which the Boers looked would have been obtained.

By this time events were drawing on for the long-expected war with the Zulus. Long had been the negotiations of Sir Theophilus Shepstone with Cetewayo, negotiations which had perforce necessitated his absence from the head of affairs in the Transvaal; but that savage potentate could no longer be restrained. It had been an invariable Zulu custom that the youth must not marry till they had "washed" their spears; and so firm was the English rule that it was a choice of enforced celibacy or war with the dominant power. They chose the latter.

Colonel Lanyon took Sir Theophilus Shepstone's place in the Transvaal on the 4th March, 1879. The Boers were meanwhile

growing more and more discontented; nor did the new Administrator's advent make matters any better. The late Administrator had at least understood them, the present one did not.

The temper of the Transvaal at this time may be judged from the fact that scarcely any of the Boers could be got to volunteer against the Zulus. One of them in particular, Piet Uys, however did so. His knowledge of the country greatly aided the English general; and when he at length died, fighting bravely, universal regret was felt. But the majority held aloof, and in the thick of the war Sir Bartle Frere held a long parley with them at Erasmus Spruit, which is described in Mr. Martineau's "*Life of Sir Bartle Frere.*" The parley was satisfactory; but, as if to complete the alienation of the Transvaal, Sir Bartle was, in September, 1879, replaced by Sir Garnet Wolseley.

Events after the termination of the Zulu War rushed on for rebellion. The fact that the English had crushed the Zulu power went for nothing, as the Boers contended

all along that they could have done it for themselves (which seems impossible); and the war with Sekukuni, which followed, caused still more irritation, for the Boers could point to it, and say that in this respect their conduct prior to the annexation had been perforce approved.

The long-delayed Constitution for the Transvaal at length arrived; but it was found that instead of according any measure of self-government, it ordained that both the Executive Council and the Legislative Assembly should be composed of officials and their nominees. This tried the patience even of the English residents at Pretoria, who began to recognise the strained state of feeling. The fatal mistake was also made of withdrawing a large portion of the English troops from the country.

It must be remembered that a large section of the Liberal Party in England had unswervingly opposed the annexation. Mr. Gladstone, on his Midlothian tour in the later part of 1879, condemned it in the strongest of language, and the Boers were led to believe that

a change of parties in England would bring about their independence.

But it was not to be. Mr. Gladstone, as the result of the general election of 1880, returned to power, but the Queen's speech stated that the Transvaal would be retained. It was in fact found impracticable to return to the *status quo* owing to the various arrangements with natives that had been entered into in the meantime. But to the Boers this was the shattering of their last hopes, and on all sides preparations were made for the coming struggle.

The first overt act of resistance occurred on a question of taxation. One Bezuidenhout, curiously enough the descendant of the originator of the Slachter's Nek rebellion of 1815, refused to pay a levy made upon him. His effects were seized for sale, but his friends burst in upon the auction and dragged off the effects. The insurgents met at Paarde Kraal on the 1st of December, 1880. The conference lasted for several days, and as a result the Republic was proclaimed. Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorius were provisionally appointed a

Triumvirate. A large body of insurgents was despatched to intercept a detachment of the 94th Regiment, which was proceeding from Lydenburg to the reinforcement of Pretoria. On the 21st December they encountered it at Brunker's Spruit. The insurgents informed Colonel Anstruther, who commanded, that the Republic had been proclaimed, and that they should resist his further advance; but the advance was ordered. The parley had taken place under a flag of truce, and it is alleged that the Boers had taken advantage of this to get into position. At any rate, at the first onset fifty-eight of the English were killed, together with their commanding officer, and ninety were wounded—the rest, outnumbered and overpowered, had no option but to surrender.

The use made of the flag of truce by the Boers on this and on other occasions during the war has been severely criticised. There is no reason to doubt that the Boers have very little comprehension of the usages of civilised warfare; as a recent writer has said, their idea is to do as much execution as possible at the

least possible harm to themselves, and their action throughout the war confirms this. It must be remembered that in nearly all previous wars their opponents had been a horde of savages, whose ferocity was only equalled by their treachery, and doubtless the Boers had learnt treachery from them. No other defence can be offered.

Pretoria, Standerton, Lydenburg, Potchefstroom, and Wakkenstroom were now closely besieged, and the country was in the hands of the insurgents.

Joubert, the Commandant-General, saw that troops would be brought up from Natal, and that the real struggle would be with them. Newcastle was the military post nearest to the Transvaal border, and it was at the point where the road from Newcastle to Pretoria passes through the Drakensberg Range that the Transvaal general awaited the foe. The narrow road is known at this point as Laing's Nek. On both sides of the road the Boers were strongly entrenched. Sir George Colley, who had at this time replaced Sir Garnet Wolseley as High Commissioner for South-East Africa,

started from Newcastle with 1,100 men to raise the siege of Pretoria.

What followed was disastrous to English arms. On the 28th January, 1881, Sir George attempted to force the Nek. The Boers, securely posted in the hills, effectually repulsed the English attack. Every effort to drive them from their strong position proved futile, and the English retreated with a loss of 190 men. Ten days later an attack was made on 300 of Sir George Colley's force on the road between the camp at Mount Prospect and Newcastle, and the English had to acknowledge a loss of 150. But the worst was yet to come. Nettled by the two defeats, the English commander brought up some reinforcements from Newcastle, and devised another scheme of attack. At the rear of the Boer position, and commanding their camp, was the Majuba mountain, a very steep ascent. On the night of the 26th February 600 men were led up this hill; 200 were left at an intermediate point of the ascent, the remaining 400 clambered to the top.

The Boers arose in the morning to see the

red-coats some hundreds of feet above their heads. Many of them were for instant flight ; but as no attack was made from the English camp their courage revived. One hundred and fifty men set off to storm the mountain, covered by a searching fire from any point of vantage, upon any Englishman who showed against the sky-line. Thus protected they reached the summit of the hill ; the English reserves wavered, and no sign of help from the camp appeared ; demoralisation set in ; and when the Boers formed in a collected force the English broke and fled down the mountain side. Sir George Colley was one of the first to fall ; and the Boers, now posted on the ground the enemy had vacated, fired with deadly effect upon the fugitives. Ninety were killed, and many wounded ; the Boer loss was nugatory.

But the Boers, although thrice victorious, had no reason for exultation. Sir Evelyn Wood was in Natal with a large army, and more troops were held in readiness, while General Sir Frederick Roberts was despatched from England to the Cape. These reinforce-

ments, however, were never needed, for on the 7th March, 1881, an amnesty was declared, and proposals for peace were entertained.

These proposals were not made on the spur of the moment; negotiations had been conducted almost throughout the struggle, chiefly aided by the offers of President Brand, as the President of the Free State, to act as mediator; these negotiations were carried forward in spite of, emphatically not because of, the battle of Majuba Hill.

The terms agreed upon included self-government for the Transvaal under the Suzerainty of Great Britain, and subject to British control of foreign relations, and the appointment of a Commission to examine into the question of native interests and the delimitations of the Transvaal border.

The Commission duly sat, and on the 3rd August the Convention of Pretoria was signed. It reserved to Great Britain the right to appoint a British Resident who should discharge functions similar to those of a *chargé d'affaires*, to move troops through the Transvaal in time of war, to control external rela-

tions, including the conclusion of treaties. The British Resident was especially charged with the protection of native rights ; he was to report any cases of ill-treatment of natives to Her Majesty's High Commissioner as representative of the Suzerain, and to report all encroachments of Boers on the native territories adjoining the Transvaal, and to act as the medium of communication of native tribes with the State. The promises of the Sand River Convention as to the non-continuance of slavery were renewed, and the Boers promised adherence to the boundaries fixed by the Convention. The Volksraad which was called ratified the Convention on October 25th, and the British officers and the army of occupation were withdrawn, and the Republican flag hoisted.

It is fortunate that there is no necessity in this place to add to the volume of criticism, favourable or adverse, that exists as to the policy of the Liberal Government in yielding up the Transvaal at this time. It is sufficient to say that violent language has, in the course of time, given way to an examination of the

question from a philosophical standpoint. It is being recognised (as it invariably has to be in questions of foreign policy) that there were intricacies of which the public could know nothing; and by the more level-headed section of Englishmen the expression "disgraceful surrender" has been replaced by "mistaken policy" in reference to the act of withdrawal.

Native troubles, unfortunately, were soon afoot. On the Bechuana border intestine quarrels arose amongst some of the tribes, and the Boers of the frontier instigated revolt. Bodies of them crossed the border and established themselves near Vryburg and Mafeking, establishing there the two separate republics of Stellaland and Goshen. Montsioa, one of the chiefs, was driven to make a peace whereby he ceded a large portion of his territory to the Boers.

But this robbery of their Bechuana allies, whether by freebooters on their own responsibility, or by the authority of the Government, England would not permit. At the time a deputation from the Transvaal, consisting

of Messrs. Kruger, Smit, and Du Toit, was in London negotiating for the substitution of another Convention for that of Pretoria, which, it was alleged, worked badly and so caused grievances. The deputation obtained much of that which it asked for. By the Convention of London, which was signed on the 21st of February, 1884, the territories of the Republic were again defined, and it gained a slice of country to the south-west, yet no part of Bechuanaland was included, but, on the contrary, it was taken under British protection, and the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie was sent as British Resident under the service of Cape Colony. But after three months he resigned, owing to differences with the white men in the district. Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who now appears for the first time upon the stage of African politics, took his place. Yet the freebooting Boers continued their depredations, and the home Government was hampered by difficulties with the Cape Colony, which refused to annex Bechuanaland. Eventually Sir Charles Warren, armed with a large commission to remove the filibusters from

Bechuanaland and to reinstate the natives and pacificate the country, went up with a large force. This was done; and the settlers of Stellaland for the most part remained under the British Protectorate, which was now formally established. When Goshen likewise was absorbed the most restive of the Boers trekked back into the Transvaal, and the remainder acted as their countrymen in Stellaland had done. Both these districts are now completely absorbed into the British jurisdiction.

The Convention of London made a marked difference in respect of the control by the home Government of the external relations of the Boers. The rights under the Pretoria Convention were reduced to a veto on the conclusion of a treaty with any foreign Power without consent of Her Majesty, and such consent was to be taken to have been given after a period of six months had elapsed, while the provisions as to the appointment of a British Resident were replaced by conditions as to the status of any British officer, if one should be appointed. It has been a matter

of much discussion to what extent the Suzerainty of Her Majesty was abrogated in effect by the Convention of London. It is generally assumed that it still exists, but there is good authority for the other view. This has become a question of the highest importance in view of later developments.

It has been seen that the Boers had profited little by their experiences on the native question; they had likewise ill learnt the lessons of citizenship. Within two years from the signing of the Convention of London the financial situation of the country was again hopeless. Now another agency intervened to save them from ruin—an agency which has transformed the whole country, forced its politics into the forefront of current history, and threatened to change the relations of the Powers of Europe.

CHAPTER V.

The Opening of the Gold-fields—Barberton—The Rand—Johannesburg—The Minerals of the Transvaal—Population—Boer and Uitlander—Transvaal Constitution—The Beginning of the Struggle—The Boers' Apology—The Franchise—The Old Volksraad and the New—Restrictive Legislation—The National Union—Grievances—The Malaboch Campaign—Commandering the Uitlanders—Excitement in Johannesburg—The High Commissioner—The Right of Public Meeting—Anti-English Policy—The Drifts Question—Preparing for Rebellion.

THE year 1886 is the time of the disclosure rather than the discovery of the mineral wealth of the Transvaal. For that matter, gold had been worked in the Lydenburg district since the year 1873, but with no very startling results. But the riches of the Rand and other districts were guessed at, if not practically known, before the British annexation. The Boer leaders were quick to recognise that the discovery of

gold in large quantities would endanger their independence, and restrictive legislation was passed against prospecting; but with the financial disasters of 1878 threatening to repeat themselves, a change was made in policy, and in 1886 gold-fields were opened in the De Kaap valley, on the lower slopes of the Drakensberg. The inevitable and foreseen result—a large advent of aliens—followed, and the township of Barberton grew with amazing rapidity. At one time its population was estimated at 10,000, but from the year 1887 it declined in importance.

The reason for this was the opening of the Rand gold-field in September, 1886—a field which is destined, in the opinion of many experts, to prove the richest the world has yet seen, which yields nearly 90 per cent. of the gold found in the Transvaal State, and over 25 per cent. of the whole supply of the world. Mr. Welsford, in “South Africa,” describes the Rand as a ridge of a great stretch of uplands, the high veldt of the Transvaal, which runs for 200 miles almost due east and west between the valley of the Vaal and the head

waters of the Limpopo. On a brow of this ridge Johannesburg stands, at an altitude of 5,700 feet above sea-level.

The best measure of the progress of the industry upon this celebrated field is the growth of the town of Johannesburg. This is, in respect of the astonishing rapidity with which it has sprung up, to be reckoned among the wonders of the world. To again quote Mr. Welsford, "In 1886 a few prospectors and their workpeople were the sole inhabitants of the Randt. To-day it ranks as one of the commercial centres of the world, and for thirty miles along the crest of the ridge the pit-head gears, batteries, and surface works of the sixty or seventy companies in active operation give evidence of the millions of capital that have been invested."

Lord Dunmore, writing in *The Pall Mall Magazine* for January, 1896, in reference to the rapid growth of the town, bids us imagine ourselves, in 1886, "standing on the Rand, with an annual value of close on ten millions' worth of undiscovered gold lying under our feet, that Rand which was in those days

nothing more nor less than bare veldt (like an American prairie), with perhaps a few Kaffir kraals and a Boer farm or two in sight. Could anyone have foreseen, or have in any way realised, that during such an incredibly short space of time, on that stretch of bare veldt, there would spring up a large, prosperous city, teeming with workers of different industries—a city of fine broad streets and finer buildings (sure indication of the great wealth of their occupants); a city of electric light and tramways, of hotels, clubs, restaurants, theatres, music-halls, cricket and polo grounds, and two racecourses; a city with a population of 60,000 souls, three daily and three weekly newspapers, only forty-nine hours from Cape-town, only 450 hours from London?"

The town, too, is growing rapidly. The latest estimates give the population as in excess of 70,000, and every steamer from England, and one might say even from Europe, brings more.

Lord Randolph Churchill, in his work "Men, Mines, and Minerals in South Africa," thus describes the town: "Wherever the eye

reposes it is arrested by mining shafts, hauling gear, engine houses, and tall chimneys. Johannesburg presents a very English appearance—that of an English manufacturing town minus its noise, smoke, and dirt. The streets are crowded with a busy, bustling, active, keen, intelligent-looking throng. Here are gathered together human beings from every quarter of the globe, the English possessing an immense predominance. The buildings and general architecture attain an excellent standard, style having been consulted and sought after, stone and brick everywhere—corrugated iron being confined to the roofs—solidity, permanence, and progress the general characteristic.”

Since the opening of the gold-field in 1886 it has passed through one period of acute depression, when over-speculation was followed by its inevitable reaction, but it has come on since with renewed vigour, even strengthened by its temporary weakness, and the output of gold has risen from 34,097 oz. in 1887 to 1,711,397 oz. for the first nine months of 1895, or an average of 2,281,863 oz. for the whole year, with yet larger promises for the future.

Nor is the Rand the only gold-field, nor is gold the only metal. The Barberton field has already been mentioned ; in the Zoutspanberg district, the Lydenburg district, and the Malmani fields the mining industry likewise flourishes. There are the greatest possibilities for silver and iron ; the mineral riches of the Transvaal seem inexhaustible.

It is unfortunate that we have no reliable statistics as to the growth of the population under the new influences. It is impossible to obtain anything like an accurate estimate of the population to-day. The census of 1890, for several reasons, furnished but an inadequate return. The native population, which does not concern us, is reckoned at about half a million. The white element has been estimated two years ago at about 120,000. This is certainly at the present time considerably short of the mark.

A competent authority of later date has estimated the male white population to be composed of 16,000 Boers, 20,000 Afrianders, and 40,000 British, with a sprinkling of other foreigners. An Afriander is a white born in

South Africa of whatever parentage. Thus a Boer is an Africander in the ordinary usage of the word, but for the purpose of this question the two are distinguished, and an Africander means a native of South Africa other than the Transvaal. These Africanders, British and foreigners, with their wives and families, form the alien or Uitlander population.

Let us revert for a short time to the year 1886. It has been observed that the second attempt of the Transvaal State to maintain itself was proving a failure. The Treasury was again empty and salaries in arrear; the State lands mortgaged up to the hilt; the upland Boer had profited nought by experience, and ruin stared the country in the face. Under these circumstances the gold-fields were thrown open. The result has been to raise the credit of the Transvaal State to the highest pitch, and to place in the Treasury a reserve of £2,000,000. Well might it be said that the success of the country was wound up in the gold-fields!

The country into which the Uitlanders (for it is best to use this name to cover all

aliens, Afriander and other) crowded was under a very primitive form of Government. The Grondwet or fundamental law of the Constitution fixed the number of the Volksraad at forty-eight. The Volksraad was elected by a most simple franchise, mainly residential, and sat for four years. The Executive consisted of the President, elected for five years; a State Secretary, elected for four years; and a Commandant-General, elected for ten years; and two other members of the Volksraad. The country was divided into districts under landdrosts, or civil magistrates, and the districts were again subdivided into jurisdictions of field-cornets. Standing army there was none; but every burgher between the ages of sixteen and sixty was liable to be called out for service on "commando," as it is called.

Such, then, was the Constitution in 1886; with regard to the inhabitants themselves they were still for the most part self-centred. The farmers of the uplands had gathered to drive out the British; but when the war was over they returned to their farms with many imprecations on the opponents who had

called them away from their homes; the small town clique who were by this time being reinforced by officials from the Netherlands to assist in the work of government strove might and main to keep the Republic afloat, despite their countrymen's indifference.

For the first few years of the incursion of Uitlanders no note of constitutional discord was sounded; the newcomers' only idea was to get the gold, which many of them believed lay broadcast on the surface, and to go home again. The Government might be an autocracy or a democracy; lawlessness might be rampant, justice unobtainable, if only they were left in peace to gather up the spoils and return to Europe to live in affluence. They had no interests whatever in the country; they certainly had no time to trouble about rights of franchise, and no opportunities for revising the Constitution.

With the depression of 1890, however, there was a change. Then slowly dawned upon these pioneers the conviction that the Transvaal Republic would have to become to them a resting-place; that the treasures of

the soil were not to be wrested from it in a day, but that years of labour would be required before a competence could be theirs. They saw that this country, to whose Constitution they had hitherto paid no attention, must be their home, and the home of their children after them; they turned to her government, and to her economic conditions; they examined the scheme of taxation to which they had, till then, submitted without protest; in short, they began to feel themselves citizens of the Transvaal and to look for citizens' rights.

From this time dates the Constitutional struggle of the Transvaal. The time has not yet come when a dispassionate view can be taken of the question of the grievances of the Uitlanders of the Transvaal. Take the political situation as it stood at the time of the crisis, examine the statistics, and the Englishmen trained under a most enlightened political system will unhesitatingly pronounce it intolerable; examine the Boer position, and extenuating circumstances for their action, due, in the main, to their history and character, must be admitted. In the first place, even if the

Boers have been utterly behindhand in recognising the Uitlanders' claims to citizenship, their case is an exceptional one. Those who remember the fears which preceded our various Reform Acts, fears lest a numerous class were being let into power that would ride roughshod over all other classes, cannot but see that such a fear would in the case of the Uitlanders be justified tenfold. The Uitlanders' ideals are utterly opposed to those of the Boer, far more so than those of any one class of Englishmen to any other class; and the influx of voters under any form of Uitlander franchise would have been immense compared to that under any English Reform Act yet passed. Let us imagine ourselves back in 1834 !

Moreover, it has been seen how the Boer has, throughout his history, been ever unable to attain to the conception of citizenship even between himself and his fellow-countrymen. How can he rise to the level of accepting this pushing, active throng of outsiders ? How could he in the course of ten years unlearn those deep-lying principles which

made him shut his doors against all outside interference?

And lastly, is it quite natural to expect him to have advanced as far in political evolution as ourselves? We fought the battle for free speech and the battle against monopolies in the first part of the seventeenth century; we have passed through all the phases of a struggle to mould the judiciary and to cripple the Legislature for the benefit of the few; shall it not make us slightly more charitable? The presence of mediæval ideas of government is perplexing and embarrassing: it thwarts the prosperity of the Transvaal itself, and baffles all our South African projects. But we know enough of political history to see that a change must inevitably come about in the very near future. We may note the growth of modern principles in the younger generation of the Boers and its ever-growing hostility to the anti-English policy; and if we know this, should we not do better to rest in conscious strength upon our convictions rather than go into hysterics about "an irresponsible Dopper oligarchy"?

However, to extenuate the failure of the Boers to adequately address themselves to their responsibilities is not in any way to condemn as unnecessary the agitation of the Uitlanders. The grievances under which they laboured were and are most substantial, and it would be impossible for men with any conception of political or social freedom passively to endure their position, by which a sweeping majority of male inhabitants were deprived of all political power.

As before mentioned, at the time of the first influx of Uitlanders the Boer Government was only too ready to welcome them. When the State seemed about to demonstrate, for the second time, its utter incapability to govern itself, the levy from the Uitlanders fell into the exhausted Treasury. Moreover, when in 1890 paralysis threatened the gold industry, every effort was made to encourage mining. Yet, side by side with these efforts, harsh restrictions were put upon the newcomers and their rights. As soon after this as the latter end of 1892 the National Union was formed to agitate for the extension of the franchise in a

reasonable manner to Uitlanders. It is not intended here to go into the long list of legislative acts dealing with the Transvaal franchise, but merely to gauge their general effect. The Volksraad, in the year 1886, consisted of forty-eight members, and was elected by burghers or by those who had attained burgher rights by naturalisation. Naturalisation could be obtained by aliens by five years' residence, a payment of £25, an oath of allegiance to the Republic, and a certificate of good conduct from the field-cornet of the district.

The course of franchise legislation from this date onward has been directed undoubtedly towards preventing the Uitlander population from ever attaining the vote at all, and retaining all power in the hands of a small clique of the burghers, but at the same time presenting the Uitlanders with the shadow of political rights while snatching away the substance.

Thus, in 1890, there was constituted a Second Volksraad, for the election of which all naturalised aliens, as well as all burghers, were entitled to vote; while, at the same time,

letters of naturalisation could be obtained after two years' residence. Yet this apparent concession was in reality no concession at all, for the constitution of the Second Volksraad was so hedged about as to make it merely a consulting body. In the first place, its sphere of activity was confined to mines, roads, telegraphs, company law, trade-marks, and kindred subjects; and in the second place, not only could its proposals be absolutely vetoed by the First Volksraad, but the President had it in his discretion what resolutions and proceedings of the Second Volksraad should even be brought before the Government. Thus the right to vote at the election of the Second Volksraad was, for purposes of obtaining any voice in the affairs of the country, of no value whatever. Moreover, while the Government made this apparent concession, the most extraordinary legislation with respect to the franchise for the First Volksraad was passed. The class of persons entitled to vote in these elections was made incapable of enlargement after the year 1890 by any persons who were naturalised after that date, unless such

persons had possessed for ten years the right to vote for the Second Volksraad.

This last extraordinary provision was amplified in the year 1894 by a statute which precluded any extension of voting rights for the First Volksraad, except after publication of a draft law in the Government Gazette for one year, and this only with the assent of two-thirds of qualified burghers to the proposed change. Meanwhile the numbers of both First and Second Volksraads had been reduced to twenty-four. Above all, children born in the Republic of alien parentage obtain no rights except their parents are naturalised at the time of their birth.

The National Union was formed by the Uitlander population in 1892 with the main object of obtaining a reform of the franchise laws (which have, as shown above, increased in virulence against Uitlanders since that date); but, in addition to this question, there were many other proceedings which called loudly for reform. The Government was, to a great extent, in the hands no longer of the Boers of the Transvaal, but of a small clique of European



PRESIDENT KRUGER.



connections. Monopolies and concessions were granted to European syndicates with indiscriminating favour alike in means of transport, in the necessaries of life, and in the equipments of industry. The progress in the making of railways, which are indispensable to the welfare of mining in Africa, was nugatory, although President Kruger's opposition to the railroad had been withdrawn as impracticable in the altered circumstances of the State. Heavy and unnecessary taxation pressed upon the mining communities; and perhaps worst of all, the First Volksraad was clearly attempting to undermine the judiciary, and claimed the right to alter the Grondwet, or fundamental law of the Constitution, by a simple majority of the Raad, an act clearly *ultra vires*, and fraught with the gravest danger, threatening, as it did, to subordinate the whole country to twenty-four members of the smallest section of the population. The agitation for constitutional change proceeded through the Transvaal Union quietly enough for some time. But in 1893 there occurred an event which

threatened to precipitate the subsequent crisis.

This was the commandeering of Uitlanders to fight with Malaboch. It has been observed that all burghers of the Transvaal between the ages of sixteen and sixty are liable to military service on commando. When the long-delayed struggle with the natives of the Zoutspanberg district, headed by Malaboch, broke out, the commando from the districts of Pretoria and Potchefstroom was made up to include a great many Uitlanders of English birth. Most of them declined to march, save by force, declaring that as they were denied all privileges of citizenship they could not be called upon to fight the battles of the State. Their case was argued at Pretoria, but after a lengthy hearing judgment was given against them, and they were compelled to proceed to the front. The palpable injustice of this state of things caused great excitement at Johannesburg. Angry protests were made, the President was mobbed, and the Transvaal flag insulted. Her Majesty's High Commissioner arrived, and succeeded in allaying the excitement. It

appeared that England had never come to any agreement as to the exemption of British subjects from commando, whilst nearly all other countries had done so. It was arranged that in future British subjects should have this privilege to the same extent as the subjects of other countries.

But the matter did not end here. The Government foresaw that a great demonstration would be arranged to welcome those who had been commandeered at the close of the war, and they therefore passed in hot haste legislation severely restricting the right of public meeting. By one clause of this statute, meetings in the open air were forbidden on pain of a heavy penalty.

Despite this statute, a large meeting was held at Johannesburg to welcome the exiles. It was most enthusiastic but at the same time most orderly, and it gave birth to the celebrated Uitlander protest against the state of Government, whereby the disfranchised aliens, in eloquent language, gave utterance to the long list of grievances under which they laboured.

The position was rapidly becoming intolerable. The governing clique at Pretoria were dominated by a perfectly insane anti-English policy. The progress of the Cape railway was hampered; resolutions were proposed in the Volksraad excluding from all rights those who had served under the British rule during the occupation or who had fought with the British during the war of independence; the franchise petition of the Uitlanders, originally signed by 5,000 persons, but the last of which obtained 38,500 names, was rejected with derision. In the autumn of 1895 the intervention of the Home Government took place in a matter which resulted from the determination of the Transvaal Government to prevent the success of the Cape line to the Rand, and to direct all traffic to the Delagoa Bay line, which had been opened in the early part of the year. The Netherlands Railway Company proved itself utterly unable to cope with the increasing traffic, and the Cape line to the Rand became blocked with accumulated goods waggons. A waggon service was started in competition across the Vaal river

to Johannesburg, whereupon the President issued a proclamation closing the drifts or fords of the Vaal river to all traffic; thus hoping to destroy the popularity of the Cape line to the Rand, and direct the goods traffic to Delagoa Bay, which, as being Portuguese and not English, he greatly favoured. But this action brought a notice from the British Government that the act was a breach of the London Convention, and the proclamation was withdrawn.

Constitutional agitation had failed; and though the more observant could see that a large section of the younger generation of Boers was opposed to the reactionary policy of the President and his clique, yet the more impulsive of the Uitlanders saw nothing but the defeats and humiliation to which the Government subjected them.

The more angry the Uitlanders showed themselves the more stubborn was the President's resistance. The National Union was arming its adherents; the President spoke of crushing the rebellion. Under such conditions the close of the year 1895 drew near at hand.

CHAPTER VI.

Johannesburg's Manifesto—Excitement in the Town—Transfer of Buchuana Territory—Disbandment of Bechuanaland Police—Dr. Jameson and the Uitlanders' Letter—Crossing the Frontier—Pretoria gets the News—The Armistice—The High Commissioner—Dr. Jameson summoned to Retire—First Skirmish with the Boers—New Year's Day—Krugersdorp—Doornkop—Surrender—Boer Anger—Removal to Pretoria.

WHILST in England Christmas had brought with it its air of repose, matters in Johannesburg grew more and more grave, and many had made up their minds to a violent struggle with the Government. On the 26th December the Transvaal Union issued a manifesto calling for

- (1) The establishment of the Republic as a true Republic under a Constitution approved by the people.

- (2) Equitable franchise and fair representation.
- (3) Equality of Dutch and English languages.
- (4) Responsibility of the Legislature of the heads of the great departments.
- (5) Removal of religious disabilities.
- (6) Establishment of independent courts of justice, with adequate pay for the judges, which should be properly secured.
- (7) Liberal education.
- (8) Efficient Civil Service, with an adequate pay and pension system.
- (9) Free trade in foreign products.

To this manifesto was appended the note that these being the objects the Uitlanders desired, it was to be determined by them what was the best method of obtaining them. It concluded: "We shall expect an answer in plain terms according to your deliberate judgment at the meeting to be held on January 6th."

In addition to the franchise and the taxation questions, the religious grievance, the educa-

tional grievance, and the language grievance were all questions of the first importance. For the attainment of official position membership of the National Church was essential, a mistake which most countries have made at some period of their history. With regard to education, the Uitlanders were very generally compelled to have their children instructed through the Dutch language by Dutch masters. The fact that in Cape Colony English and Dutch were of equal rank for all official purposes, stimulated the Uitlanders to demand a concession of equal rights for the two languages in the Transvaal.

Rumours were now rife of an immediate rising; the whole town was in a state of nervous tension; the trains to the Colony were crowded with those who felt Johannesburg was insecure; parties of armed Boers were to be seen in many quarters; many of the mines were shut down; the Government at Pretoria affected an air of indifference. But the President was prepared to strike; and one member of the Volksraad challenged the Uitlanders to fight for their rights if they dared. It was

reported that he was severely censured, and for the credit of the Boers it is to be hoped the report was true. Many of the Uitlanders undoubtedly shrank from the idea of open conflict when all their substance was involved.

The Chartered Company, after the quieting of the Matabele, may be said to have had no history for some period. That period was one of uninterrupted progress in the development of their territories.

The transfer of territory agreed upon between the Imperial Government and the Company, whereby the Company assumed jurisdiction over the Bechuanaland Protectorate, proved obnoxious to Khama and the other Bechuana chiefs whose territories were involved in the agreement ; they desired to remain under the Sovereign power, and not to pass under the sway of the Company, and they journeyed to England to lay their views before the Colonial Secretary. An arrangement was come to whereby the chiefs were permitted to retain their respective reserves under the Sovereign power, whilst they assigned to the Company a narrow strip of land

at the east of their territory, and bordering the west frontier of the Transvaal, for the purposes of the railway which was being made from the Cape Colony into Rhodesia. Dr. Jameson was appointed the Resident Commissioner for this new strip. Having regard to this arrangement, the Bechuanaland Border Police were no longer required by the Imperial Government, and were disbanded close to the Transvaal border at Mafeking and Pitsani Pitlogo. Dr. Jameson was then at Pitsani, and the disbanded men were offered the chance of enrolment in the Company's Police, of which a detachment was then in the district ostensibly to guard the railway which was in course of construction. This offer a very large number of them accepted. The *Annual Register* for 1895, after dealing with events in Bechuanaland, concludes: "At the end of December there was going on an amount of drilling and preparation at these places (*i.e.*, Mafeking and Pitsani), and a report was current that they were about to attack some hostile native chief."

On New Year's Day all England was startled with the news that Dr. Jameson had gone into the Transvaal with an armed force.

On the 29th of December Dr. Jameson mustered the force of Police present at Pitsani and addressed them. He stated that affairs at Johannesburg were in a critical state, and that the lives of the Uitlanders and their wives and children were in peril. He read a letter he had received, signed by five leaders of the Reform Party in Johannesburg; in the course of the letter it was stated: "We cannot view the future without the gravest apprehension. All feel that we are justified in taking any steps to prevent the shedding of blood, and to ensure the protection of our rights. It is under these circumstances that we feel constrained to call upon you to come to our aid, should a disturbance arise here. The circumstances are so extreme that we cannot but believe that you, and the men under you, will not fail to come to the aid of people who will be so situated." He then called upon them to proceed across the border to Johannesburg, not with any hostile inten-

tions towards the Boers, but simply for the protection of the English residents in the town. Sir John Willoughby, who had been seconded to the Company's Police, likewise addressed the men. The men responded by singing "God save the Queen" and "Rule Britannia." Sir John Willoughby assumed the command of the expedition, and preparations were made for an immediate start.

Meanwhile Major Coventry and Colonel Grey, who had served with the Bechuanaland Border Police, and who were then at Mafeking with over 100 of the men who had belonged to that body, led them across the Transvaal frontier. Once across, the destination of the force was declared. At first some of the men demurred, but on being informed that the expedition was to uphold the supremacy of the British Flag in South Africa, they rejoined their comrades.

The intention of the commanders was to make for Johannesburg at top speed, resting neither night nor day more than absolutely necessary. Needless to say that the expedi-

tion was exclusively composed of mounted men. The Pitsani contingent which started for the border on Sunday, the 29th December, in the early evening, was composed of about 400 officers and men. It took with it six Maxims and a twelve-and-a-half-pounder. The Mafeking contingent was composed of about 150 officers and men, and had ten seven-pounders and ten Maxims.

The two columns rode through the Sunday night and on the Monday morning united near Malmani in the Transvaal territory after riding nearly 40 miles through the night. Sir John Willoughby took the command of the expedition, though Dr. Jameson, of course, assumed the responsibility. All had so far gone well. A good start had been effected before the Boers could have got any notice of the invasion. The telegraph wires were cut at Malmani and the now united column formed up for the ride. Scouts were sent out on all sides. Two Maxims went with the advance-guard and two with the rear-guard, while two flanking parties were thrown out from the main body.

One hundred and fifty miles had lain between them and their destination when they started, and over a hundred of them yet remained to be traversed. All through the Monday the column pressed on, the men never being out of the saddle for more than a few minutes. Food was ready for the invaders at several points, and now galloping, now slackening to a walk, they passed over the miles of lonely veldt that lay between them and the Golden City.

But forces were already at work to mar the chances of success. Pretoria became aware of the violation of the territory early on the 30th. The Government was in a state of consternation. Johannesburg was known to be on the eve of rebellion, and six hundred men were galloping to their aid. General Joubert was ordered to oppose the advance with the forces immediately available, and urgent messages were sent through the country to summon the burghers from all parts.

Yet this was clearly not sufficient; Johannesburg must be restrained or the Boer forces





would be taken in flank. A deputation was immediately sent from Pretoria to the Rand.

Johannesburg had heard of Jameson's approach on the Monday night; the news had not given entire satisfaction, but the city was extremely agitated. It was felt on all sides that they must be supported; round the offices of the Reform Committee in the early morning of Tuesday large crowds assembled, and the city was gradually put under arms, and all arrangements for the defence were conducted with the greatest order and regularity.

In the middle of the warlike preparations, the deputation from Pretoria arrived; it proposed an armistice; Johannesburg was not to attack Pretoria nor Pretoria Johannesburg; a deputation was to be sent to Pretoria to lay before the President the causes of the rebellion, and most lavish promises of concessions were made. Johannesburg fell in with the arrangement; the people had great reason to fear the Boer attack on an open town. Moreover, if attention was to be paid to their grievances they had gained their object. As

to Dr. Jameson, they seem never to have doubted his ability to come through unassisted, and they never suspected that in face of the armistice careful preparations were being made to attack the Chartered Company's troops, and that the Boer army was even then selecting the ground on which it would fight. Pretoria had outwitted Johannesburg; they had prevented the union of the town with the invaders; they had omitted Dr. Jameson from the terms of the armistice, and they were free to attack him at their leisure.

As if to complete the determination of the Johannesburg leaders, and to lay to rest all scruples, a proclamation arrived from the High Commissioner for South Africa repudiating Dr. Jameson's expedition, and calling on all men to keep the peace. The Johannesburgers seem to have leapt at the means of escape thus offered them; and for the time being, at least, the town remained quiet.

The High Commissioner, acting on instructions from London, had, indeed, taken most vigorous action to prevent a further spread of

rebellion. Besides the message to the people of Johannesburg, Sir Jacobus de Wet, the British Resident in the Transvaal, was ordered to meet the expedition and order it to retire, whilst a mounted messenger was despatched in pursuit of the expedition with similar orders.

Meanwhile, the invaders, ignorant alike of the armistice at Johannesburg and of the action of the High Commissioner, rode steadily forwards to its goal. On Tuesday morning, the 31st December, the commandant of the Marico district rode up to the column, and ordered Dr. Jameson to withdraw his men beyond the frontier. Dr. Jameson replied that he came in answer to a call from Johannesburg to assist the people in the demand for the rights of citizens. Towards morning, on the Tuesday, the High Commissioner's messenger overtook the column. The leaders read the repudiation; the only answer returned was that the message would be attended to, and the column moved on westward.

But the Boers were mustering in force

ahead; the messages from Pretoria had gone swiftly through the country, and mounted Boers galloped in from every side to the assistance of General Joubert.

At ten o'clock on the last day of the year the opposing parties got within range of each other. By this time, men and horses of Jameson's troop were sorely in need of rest, but the massing of the Boers on the hillside proved that if the column was to get through without serious opposition they must press on. Firing began about 11 p.m. from the kopjes along the base of which the column was proceeding; this was the first active opposition. For an hour the march was delayed and the enemy's fire returned, then the column pressed on.

The morning of New Year's Day found them on the hills above Krugersdorp; at 8 a.m. they breakfasted and rested. Whilst so engaged, Sir Jacobus de Wet's envoy arrived, and was despatched back with the message that retreat was now impossible. Skirmishing went on all the morning; the Boers were massing ahead to oppose the



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advance, and at mid-day the great attack commenced. A member of the force writing to *The Times* thus describes the engagement:—

“It had been cloudy all the morning, and in a terrific thunderstorm we mounted a very steep kopje in skirmishing order, the Boers having entrenched themselves on an opposite and strongly fortified hill. We put several shells into their fortifications, but were unable to dislodge the Boers. The order was then given for the skirmishers to charge, but there seems to have been some misunderstanding as only twenty-five men charged, about fifty going round to the left and trying to take the Boers in the flank. It was during this movement that we saw how strong the Boer position was, for a very heavy fire was immediately poured on both parties; the flanking party retired, but the fire on the twenty-five men was so heavy that they dismounted and took the nearest cover. An attempt was made to send a messenger to them with the order to retreat, but he was wounded on the way, and seeing the heavy firing, and that

they made no signs, it was surmised they must have all been killed. This happily proved untrue, as they were taken prisoners by the Boers as soon as the column left, only two being killed and four wounded, one very seriously. The attack proving fruitless the column was ordered to make a detour to the right, which we succeeded in doing, but were so hemmed in by the Boers that it was decided to laager for the night, hoping for assistance from Johannesburg in the morning."

All through the night the Boers upon the hills kept up a fire upon the laager, and though the Maxims answered them it was to little purpose.

It was evidently impossible to force the way through the hills round Krugersdorp; no reinforcements appeared from Johannesburg, and the column began to feel the pangs of desertion. The men were tired out, and the horses were good for little without a long rest; the enemy was being reinforced every hour, and ammunition was being hurried up by train to Krugersdorp, the terminus of the

Rand line. It was decided to detour to the south and make a last dash for Johannesburg. At daybreak the column pressed forward as hard as weary beasts could gallop. But the dash died away; on the hills in front appeared larger numbers of the enemy than before, whilst their Krugersdorp foes closed in on the rear. The position was hopeless; the ammunition was practically exhausted; the men and horses dead beat; no sign from Johannesburg. Yet the heroic company prepared to storm the enemy's new position at Doornkop. One hill was carried, only to find the enemy strongly posted on the next. The English were hopelessly outnumbered. Further resistance meant the sacrifice of life to no purpose; and at 10 a.m. the white flag was hoisted, and the Boers rushed down from the hills on all sides and took the whole company prisoners.

It has been said that the result of Dr. Jameson's raid has been to weaken British prestige in South Africa; this is probably the exact opposite of the truth. The Boers expressed the greatest admiration for the men,

who, numbering not one-fifth of their opponents, without food and without sleep, had kept up a running fight for about twenty-four hours under hopeless conditions of position. The English loss was very slight, for twenty only were killed, although many were wounded; of the Boer loss it is difficult to speak, but there is no reason to doubt that it largely exceeded that of the English, and that the shelling of the kopjes cost them dear. Dr. Jameson and his men had fought a hopeless fight from the first; disgraced they could not have been.

The prisoners were marched to Krugersdorp, and in the market-place Dr. Jameson narrowly escaped being shot by some of the Boers, who were exasperated at the loss of relatives and at what appeared to them a wanton invasion; but the firmness of the Boer commandant prevented this. From Krugersdorp they were taken to Pretoria, there to await the decision of the Government.

CHAPTER VII.

Johannesburg's Awakening—Pacification of the Town—Disarmament—The Queen's Message to President Kruger—England's Attitude—The German Emperor's Telegram—The War Fever—Dr. Jameson Handed Over to the English Authorities—Alarmist Rumours—President Kruger's Proclamation—Mr. Rhodes Resigns—Disarming the Company—Message to Germany—Dr. Jameson Leaves for England—The Foreign Enlistment Act—Dr. Jameson's Return—Reception at Bow Street—The Preliminary Investigation—Committed for Trial.

WHILST Dr. Jameson and his resolute little force were fighting against overwhelming odds, increased by hunger and fatigue, yet sustained by the hope of reinforcements from Johannesburg, the inhabitants of the town remained inactive under the armistice, and by reason of the High Commissioners' proclamation. They seem to have remained in blissful ignorance of the tremendous forces against which Dr.

Jameson was contending, and to have looked forward with absolute confidence to his triumphant entry into the market square. Gradually the report leaked out that matters had not gone so favourably as could have been wished, but they still declined to believe that a reverse could possibly occur. But when they heard of the defeat and surrender there came a violent revulsion of feeling. The thought that they had rested secure within the town whilst their would-be deliverer was enduring a severe defeat within twenty miles of them enraged all classes, and for a time there was every prospect of a violent outbreak. The Reform Committee were roundly abused; the offices of the National Union were surrounded by an angry mob who clamoured loudly for rebellion, whilst a number of Scotchmen, bitterly wroth that it should be thought that they had deserted their fellow-countryman in his peril, proposed forthwith to proceed to his rescue. The Boers were on their side no less enraged with the Uitlanders; they made hostile demonstrations both in and round the town; and it

seemed that any moment might see a violent struggle.

Yet wiser counsels prevailed ; the leaders pointed out that any attempt at rescue would be a foregone failure ; that the number of armed Boers exceeded the number of armed Uitlanders ; that they commanded the town from several points of vantage, and that they were strengthened by the Maxims taken from the Chartered force ; moreover, any movement of rebellion must imperil the life of Dr. Jameson and his fellow-prisoners.

Meanwhile the High Commissioner had arrived at Pretoria, and set about the work of pacification. Mr. Chamberlain had telegraphed to Sir Hercules : "I regret that Jameson's disobedience has led to this deplorable loss of life. Do your best to secure generous treatment of the prisoners and care of the wounded."

President Kruger was evidently master of the situation ; the lives of the prisoners were technically at any rate at his mercy, and he had the military superiority. His territory had been violated ; his burghers killed.

The Government of Pretoria insisted on the immediate disarmament of Johannesburg. Whether the inhabitants of the rebellious town consented to the terms of disarmament in order to save Dr. Jameson's life, or whether they were convinced by superior power, is uncertain; at any rate the terms were accepted, and disarmament slowly commenced.

This process caused the greatest friction, and arms were delivered up sullenly; the difficulties were increased by the fact that the Reform Committee had stated that 30,000 rifles had been distributed, whereas in fact the number was not more than 3,000. The vigorous search by the Boers for the non-existent rifles caused much unpleasantness, and it was some time before the town ceased to express its angry feelings.

In England the news of the raid had been received with the greatest surprise; for though the grievances of the Uitlanders had become common knowledge, none were prepared for the *dénouement*. The large majority of the well-informed unhesitatingly con-

demned the raid in the first instance; but the news of the heroic struggle and ultimate defeat distinctly tended to change the current of popular feeling. The extraordinary action of the Emperor of Germany enhanced, however illogically, this feeling; for this potentate, on hearing the news of the surrender at Doornkop, telegraphed to the President of the Republic as follows: "I express to you my sincere congratulations that, without appealing to the help of friendly Powers, you and your people have succeeded in repelling with your own forces the armed bands which had broken into your country, and in maintaining the independence of your country against foreign aggression."

This message, assuming as it did the right of Germany or other Powers to interfere in the Transvaal, and also the complicity of the English Government in the raid, caused the greatest indignation. It was felt to be unwarrantable and hostile; and the scent of war was immediately in the air. As if by some subtle, magical force, all classes of the people seemed straightway acquainted with

the meaning of the message, and the flame of national anger caught the kingdom in an instant in its embrace. On platforms and in the Press Germany was denounced; men discussed war in the railway-carriage and shouted for it in music-halls. The proprietors of the halls were not slow to improve the occasion; whilst the writers of patriotic songs made large fortunes.

The immediate answer to the telegram was the commissioning of a flying squadron to proceed to Delagoa Bay or elsewhere as required; and the promptitude with which this was done caused an abrupt change of tone in the Continental Press, which, almost without exception, for about a week had been heaping the most violent and ridiculous abuse upon the English Government. The episode was soon over; but the effects remain in a distrust of Germany which will not be quickly removed. It is very hard for democracy and autocracy to run in double harness.

Meanwhile, negotiations were proceeding for the delivering over of Dr. Jameson and his men to the English Government, a course

which President Kruger seems to have intended from the outset. There was at first a rumour that Dr. Jameson and some of his officers would be shot; it is not pleasant to contemplate what might have happened in the state of feeling at the time had this taken place. Mr. Chamberlain, on hearing of President Kruger's merciful intentions, telegraphed as follows: "I have received the Queen's commands to acquaint you that Her Majesty has heard with satisfaction that you have decided to hand over the prisoners to the Government. This act will redound to the credit of your Honour, and will conduce to the peace of South Africa and to the harmonious confederation of the British and Dutch races, which is necessary for its future development and prosperity." To which President Kruger, through the medium of the High Commissioner, responded: "I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of to-day with copy enclosed therein of a telegram received by your Excellency from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, requesting your Excellency,

by command of Her Majesty the Queen, to inform us of a message in which Her Majesty expresses her satisfaction at my decision to hand over the prisoners to Her Majesty's Government. As I had already caused your Excellency to be informed it is really my intention to act in this sense so that Dr. Jameson and the British subjects who were under his command may then be punished by Her Majesty's Government, and I will make known to your Excellency the final decision in this matter as soon as Johannesburg shall have reverted to a condition of quietness and order. In the meantime, I have to request your Excellency to assure Her Majesty the Queen of my high appreciation of her words, and in proffering her my respectful good wishes to express my thanks for the same." No hitch occurred in the negotiations, and Dr. Jameson and his fellow-prisoners were handed over to the English Government, on the borders of Natal, to take their trial in England.

England remained anxious and disturbed. The most disquieting rumours were abroad;

the Republic was reported to be secretly arming; tales were told of the presence of armed Germans in Pretoria, and alliances of Europe against England in South Africa were darkly hinted at. It was rumoured almost weekly that President Kruger had announced his intention of treating the Convention of London as a nullity, and precipitating a struggle with the British Power. In addition to this, ridiculous reports were spread of the perpetration of various cruelties on the Uitlanders; the Boers were cursed and abused, and the President was regarded as the most unscrupulous of intriguers and the worst of hypocrites.

Perhaps this state of things was only to be expected, considering the interests of speculators in the Rand. But certain it is that statements such as these, put about with the greatest industry, obtained a most undeserved credence. The newspapers of the time are full of them. In fact, however much we may be inclined to doubt the absolute sincerity of President Kruger in his dealings with the Uitlanders, his action at this time seems

not unworthy of his position. After all, he was the wronged party ; it did not seem unreasonable when so many were saying, "If Jameson had got through," to take extra defensive measures. Nor was it entirely beside the mark to keep a sharp look-out in the direction of Buluwayo. The fact that Johannesburg settled down again into quietude at all speaks volumes for the tactful action of the President's agents in the Rand ; and the proclamation which he issued to the inhabitants is couched in the most dignified language. Its conclusion is as follows :—

"Thousands have been misled and deceived, and it is clear that even among the so-called leaders of the movement there are many who have been deceived. A small number of designing men, inside and outside this country, have artfully stirred up the innocent inhabitants of Johannesburg, under the mask of fighting for political rights ; and, when in their madness they thought the moment had come, they chose a certain Dr. Jameson to cross the border of this Republic. Have

they even asked themselves to what they exposed you? I shudder when I think of the bloodshed that might have been caused had not a merciful Providence saved you and my burghers. Now I address you with full confidence. Strengthen the hands of the Government, and co-operate with it to make this Republic a country where all nationalities can live fraternally together! For months and months I have thought over what alterations and improvements would be desirable in the Constitution of this State, but unwarrantable instigations, especially of newspapers, have kept me back. The same men who have now appeared in public as leaders have demanded improvements from me in a tone and manner which they would not have dared to use in their own country. Through this it was impossible for me and my burghers, the founders of the Republic, to take the proposals into consideration. It was my intention to submit a law at the first ordinary session of the Volksraad whereby a municipality, with a mayor at its head, should be appointed for Johannesburg, to whom the whole muni-

cial government of the town would be entrusted. I ask you earnestly to put your hand upon your heart and answer me this question—Dare I, and should I, after all that has happened, propose such to the Volksraad? The answer I give myself. I know that there are thousands in Johannesburg to whom I can with confidence entrust this. Let the inhabitants of Johannesburg make it possible for the Government to appear before the Volksraad with the words ‘Forget and forgive!’”

On the 7th January came the news that Mr. Rhodes had resigned the premiership of Cape Colony, and Sir J. Gordon Sprigg succeeded him in the office.

The case of the Chartered Company next received the attention of the Home Government. In the Charter a power of revocation was reserved to the Crown; and a large body of opinion in England called for the exercise of this power as a summary and exemplary punishment for the raid. To a considerable section of people the Charter had always been objectionable on academic grounds; but in addition to this the Company had incurred a

great deal of hostility over its action in the matter of the Matabele war, and of events subsequent thereto. There were some who believed that the directors had knowledge of the raid, and it was argued that, even if they were entirely free from a charge of complicity, yet they must be held bound by the acts of their Administrator; and this last proceeding had menaced the prosperity of South Africa, and threatened to plunge England itself into war.

On the other hand, it was contended that the Company had done a tremendous work in opening up Africa towards the north, and had done so more efficiently than could be expected from a direct administration of the territory from Downing Street; that absolutely not a shadow of proof existed on the charge of complicity; and that it was a most severe remedy, as against innocent parties, to revoke the Charter. As Mr. Chamberlain observed in the debate on the Address in the House of Commons, all would allow seven just persons among the shareholders.

Yet, while refusing to revoke the Charter

in the premature manner demanded by the Company's opponents, the Government did not consider it advisable to leave it any longer with the power of conducting hostile operations against neighbouring States; and the police were to be taken under Imperial control, whilst the ammunition and warlike stores were to be handed over to Government officials. Dr. Jameson was, of course, removed from the post of Administrator, and Lord Grey appointed in his stead; and when Parliament met in February it was decided to appoint a Commission to enquire (*inter alia*) into the administration by the Company of its territories.

Whilst thus checking with a firm hand the danger of a further outbreak against the Republic, it was intimated to Germany that the existing treaties between Great Britain and the Transvaal would be maintained.

Dr. Jameson left Pretoria for England on the 19th January, and was received on board the *Victoria* transport with the leaders of the expedition. The rank and file returned in

the *Harlech Castle*. Meanwhile, the Law Officers of the Crown were long deciding in what manner the indictment against the raiders should be framed. It was decided to proceed under the Foreign Enlistment Act, 1870, an Act passed to prevent the active intervention of Englishmen in favour of any foreign State at war with any friendly State, or the fitting out of expeditions in English territory to attack friendly States. It was for an offence under the 11th section of this Act that the raiders were to be tried. It was as follows:—

“If any person within the limits of Her Majesty’s dominions and without the license of Her Majesty—

“Prepares or fits out any naval or military expedition to proceed against the dominions of any friendly State, the following consequences shall ensue:

“(1) Every person engaged in such preparation or fitting out, or assisting therein, or employed in any capa-

city in such expedition, shall be guilty of an offence against this Act and shall be punishable by fine and imprisonment, or either of such punishments, at the discretion of the court before which the offender is convicted; and imprisonment if awarded may be either with or without hard labour.

“(2) All ships and their equipments, and all arms and munitions of war, used in or forming part of such expedition shall be forfeited to Her Majesty.”

As the *Victoria* neared the shores of England public interest grew apace. Three weeks previously Mr. Rhodes had arrived, but all efforts to obtain any information from him had been utterly futile, and the journalists who went on board the vessel saw nothing but the ex-Premier's back. He had a short interview with Mr. Chamberlain at the

Colonial Office, but, after a stay of five days, returned to Buluwayo. When, therefore, the *Victoria* put in at Plymouth there was the greatest excitement displayed. The Government had kept Dr. Jameson's movements a profound secret, and it was not even certain whether Dr. Jameson was on board. A launch with a number of journalists put off to the *Victoria* at Plymouth, but no access was permitted to the vessel. Mr. Hawkesley, the solicitor to the Chartered Company, was taken on board, and the *Victoria* proceeded up Channel. The disappointed crowd found consolation in those who were soon afterwards disembarked at Plymouth from the *Harlech Castle*, and allowed to proceed to their homes.

They were surrounded and questioned, and were indeed not loth to give any information ; but it was not the same thing.

A report was current that Dr. Jameson would be disembarked at Salcombe or Dartmouth ; but there was no ground for this. On the afternoon of the 25th the *Victoria*

brought up in the river at Purfleet. The prisoners were transferred to the tug *Cambria*, and thence to a police boat, which proceeded rapidly up river.

It was dark before the boat passed under London Bridge, and the secrecy of the proceedings had succeeded in throwing most people off the scent. A small group of people watched at Temple Pier, and saw the small boat pass and turn in at the Waterloo Bridge police pier. Here the prisoners were disembarked, placed in private vehicles, and driven rapidly to Bow Street Police Station.

A large crowd had assembled at Bow Street, and the entrance of the prisoners was accompanied by an extraordinary demonstration in Court. Loud cheers were raised and hats waved, and for several minutes the Court was turned into a bear-garden. It was the most disgraceful scene in the whole history of the raid.

The names of the prisoners were Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, Sir John Christopher

Willoughby, the Hon. Henry Fredk. White, R. Gray, the Hon. Robert White, J. Stracey, C. H. Villiers, K. J. Kincaird Smith, H. M. Grenfell, C. P. Foley, C. and D. Munro, C. F. Lindall, and E. C. S. Haldon. To these were subsequently added the Hon. C. J. Coventry and A. V. Gosling.

The charge was that they, with certain other persons, in the month of December, 1895, in South Africa, within Her Majesty's dominion, and without the license of Her Majesty, did unlawfully prepare and fit out a military expedition to proceed against the dominion of a friendly State—to wit, the South African Republic. Formal evidence only of the arrest was taken, and the enquiry was postponed, the prisoners being released on their own recognizances in the sum of £1,000 each. In granting bail Sir John Bridge, the presiding magistrate, said: "There is only one more observation that I shall have to make, and that is to the defendants themselves. I would beg of them, for their own sakes and for the sake of the peace of this country, to keep

away from any place where their presence may cause public excitement, never being before the public more than they can help, and not coming together more than is absolutely necessary. I hope you will all give your assurances that you will do so, and that in every possible way you will abstain from anything likely to cause a disturbance to the public peace. The remarks I have just made are more necessary for the younger men to listen to than for the older ones, because they have not gained the experience necessary to guide them in these matters." This injunction was loyally observed. At the end of the proceedings an attempt was made to get Dr. Jameson away from his too devoted admirers, but he was recognised once more, and again received a most hearty reception.

The magisterial enquiry was postponed for a long period in order to obtain the evidence from South Africa which had been collected by the Treasury, and it was not till the 15th June that it came to an end. As a

result, Dr. Jameson, Sir John Willoughby, Major Robert White, Colonel Gray, Colonel Henry White, and Major Coventry were committed for trial, and the other defendants were discharged.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrest of the Reformers—Uncertainty in Johannesburg—The Prisoners Plead Guilty—Death Sentences—Mitigation—Release of the Prisoners—The Matabele in Rebellion—Causes of the Outbreak—Murder of Settlers—Buluwayo Surrounded—Peril of the Colonists—The Buluwayo Field Force—The Enemy Withdraw—The Relief Forces—The Mashona Rising—The Struggle in the Matoppos—Mr. Rhodes Meets the Chiefs—The Rebellion at an End.

JOHANNESBURG had indulged in the luxury of rebellion ; and that luxury had to be paid for. Vigorous measures were instituted by the Boer Executive against the ringleaders of the revolution, and over 200 were arrested on a charge of high treason. Some others who would have been charged with the same offence had escaped from the jurisdiction.

This procedure caused the greatest inconvenience in the town ; those who were im-

prisoned in Pretoria gaol were leaders of mining enterprise and as a result the working of the mines was seriously impeded. The supply of native labour, too, became restricted in the disturbed state of the country, and it seemed probable that many mines would have to be shut down.

To add to this feeling of insecurity, there was a great deal of uncertainty as to what were the penalties attached to treason. The law of the Transvaal was little known, and the manner in which the Volksraad had, of late years, encroached upon the judiciary and claimed to have full powers over the Grondwet caused apprehension lest some extraordinary jurisdiction might be instituted to deal with the special circumstances. The Executive interdicted the transfer of land standing in the names of the accused, and as it would seem that a good deal of this land was, in fact, held in trust for other persons, who were not closely implicated in the charge of treason, great fear was felt that these persons might by a side-wind be deprived of the major part of their property; and through

all this time many of the Colonial and English press-writers at regular intervals sounded the dreary note of war and calamity in the near future and the mining market shivered in sympathy. The account given by many of Jameson's party of their captivity in Pretoria, did something to relieve the excitement which had been caused by the report of the horrors of the Boer prisons ; and in England people settled down with comparative equanimity to await the trial of the Uitlander leaders. The trial, however, was preceded by an investigation ; and the agony was drawn out to an almost inconceivable extent. Long intervals of time occurred between its various stages, and though the prisoners were allowed to have a certain amount of liberty, yet they were not allowed to go to Johannesburg, the one place where their presence was required. Repeated protests were made against the damage done to the mining industry by the withdrawal of all its leaders, and suggestions to shut down the mines were made. This did not quite suit President Kruger's ideas, and he promulgated

a proclamation to the gold-fields against it.

At the end of April the trial came on. A lengthy statement was put in on behalf of the prisoners, which dealt fully with their attitude on hearing of the violation of the frontier. To the first count of the indictment charging high treason against the Republic, Colonel Rhodes and Messrs. Phillips and Farrar pleaded guilty; the other sixty prisoners pleaded guilty to *laesio majestatis*. Proceedings were postponed till the following week. Sentence was then pronounced.

England, although by this time well accustomed to shocks from the Transvaal, was violently excited by the news that Colonel Rhodes and Messrs. Hammond, Phillips, and Farrar had been condemned to death; in addition to this the other fifty-nine prisoners were condemned to imprisonment for ten years, a fine of £2,000 and three years banishment. Yet it was soon apparent that the Executive would pass in review all the sentences; it was stated that the law allowed the judges no option but to award the

extreme penalty for high treason. At any rate the announcement that the capital sentence had been commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment followed almost immediately, and caused a great feeling of relief in England. The execution of the four ringleaders must infallibly have led to bloodshed in Johannesburg.

The sentences on the other fifty-nine members of the Reform Committee were next examined. The Boers themselves strongly urged clemency; yet delay occurred in the decision of the Executive, and during the interval that elapsed Mr. Grey, one of the prisoners, utterly unnerved by the imprisonment and suspense, committed suicide in goal. This created a most painful impression.

At last the decision was given. The banishment was suspended on condition of a promise being made not to interfere in the politics of the Republic. The fine of £2,000 was retained, but the periods of imprisonment were shortened in some cases to three months, in some to five, and in some to

nine, whilst certain of the prisoners were released at once. This alleviation was made dependent on a petition by the prisoners, and two of them who have refused to petition are still imprisoned. As to the rest, the lighter sentences were shortly afterwards removed, and the fine and undertaking were left as the only conditions precedent to release.

It remained to deal with the four principal offenders. After a further delay the fifteen years' imprisonment was remitted on payment of the fine of £25,000 a piece, and a similar undertaking as to non-interference in the politics of the State was demanded in lieu of banishment. In the case of Messrs. Hammond, Phillips, and Farrar, the undertaking was given, but Colonel Rhodes refused and was expelled from the State. With the release of the Reform Committee, Johannesburg finally subsided.

It is impossible to keep chronological order at this period. A month prior to the trial of the Reform Committee rebellion had broken out in Matabeleland.

The causes of the attack were numerous. The Matabele to the west of Buluwayo had not, in fact, been ever thoroughly subdued, and were all along desirous to pit themselves against the invaders; thus they had only been waiting for a favourable opportunity.

All the natives, moreover, laboured under two grievances. They considered that they had been unfairly dealt with in regard to their cattle, and they objected to the labour imposed upon them.

The reading of much history is likely to make us take an exaggerated view of the depths of our political philosophy. It is delightfully easy from a standpoint of, say, two hundred years afterwards to point out that the imposition of such and such a tax must necessarily have caused such and such a rebellion, or that the operative force of some law must of necessity have been nugatory; or wonder how kings and statesmen can have been so blind; and we withdraw from the study with considerable self-satisfaction.

Nothing is more valuable as a corrective to this conceit than to have lived through a series of events destined to be classed as historic, and to feel an utter powerlessness at the time to draw the most simple of deductions as to the probable course of events. The colonial historian of some fifty years hence will point out the necessary effects of Dr. Jameson's action, not on the Transvaal, but on Rhodesia; and his readers will close the book with a feeling that the statesmen of to-day were a very inferior class of men not to see that the removal of the police out of the country to be imprisoned or disbanded elsewhere would infallibly bring about a rising of the barely-subdued natives of Matabeleland.

Yet to few English colonists, or to English statesmen of to-day, did an idea present itself save as a very improbable contingency; and when at the end of much rumours of the slaughter of outlying settlers in Rhodesia reached us, it took some time to convince us that our colonists were face to face, not with the revenge of a few natives, but with a second Matabele war.

In looking back now on what an obstinate struggle has taken place, this one important fact must not be forgotten ; the first Matabele war had been conducted with such celerity and determination that it had, to a great extent, failed in its object.

The flight of Lobengula had been sudden ; and this had so disheartened the natives that for the time being they abandoned all idea of resistance ; large bodies of them had never been engaged with the English power ; Gamboe's big "impi" had withdrawn without offering any effective opposition ; many of the warriors actually present on the field when the battles of the Shangani and Imbembesi had been fought had struck no blow. These had surrendered their opposition and laid down their arms, because for the time being they had had enough marching and war preparation, not because their spirit was in any way broken, or because they felt their hopeless inferiority to the white men ; they hid their ammunition and waited their opportunity.

A large number of the natives, however,

had really had enough fighting and were prepared to settle down under the Company; but there were two grievances which caused a great deal of friction. One of these grievances was, so to speak, pecuniary, the other a matter of sentiment.

The Matabele set great store by their cattle; the accounts of the first war show that the natives would act in the most determined manner to prevent their herds falling into the invaders' hands; and when the struggle was over, it became a great problem how the cattle were to be distributed between them and the Company. It does not seem to be quite clear what particular action on the Company's part had erected this question into a substantial difficulty; Mr. Selous in his latest work, "Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia," attributes the native displeasure to the fact that the Company instead of at first taking all the cattle they needed, and leaving the residue to the natives, took only a very small portion to begin with, and then from time to time took more, thus creating a feeling of unrest and uncertainty as

to whether eventually all the cattle might not be taken; and a judgment delivered by Judge Vintcent on the subject a short time previously seems not to have been received with favour by the natives. So much for the first point.

The second point was the enforcing of labour in the mines upon the natives; this they resented bitterly. The Matabele had never been accustomed to any kind of work except fighting; their women and their Makalaka tributaries conducted all their business. When the Company, therefore, set them to work, the greatest repugnance was displayed. There is no reason to suppose the terms imposed on them by the Company were severe, and, undoubtedly, if the territories were to be developed it must be by the supply of native labour on the spot; but the Matabele could hardly be expected to look at the matter from this point of view.

To add to this, undoubtedly, there was much harsh treatment of the conquered race in the outlying districts; the officials of the Company were perfectly powerless to check

this, though whenever a case came under the notice of the Executive it was promptly dealt with.

Among these elements of discord, then, and at a time when the prevailing discontent was aggravated by the ravages of the rinderpest among the cattle, and a devastating swarm of locusts, superstition began to play. In a cave in the Matoppo Hills dwelt a Makalaka who claimed to hold converse with the unseen world. Prophecies in abundance were spoken from the cave: of the extirpation of the white man, of the magical release of Lobengula, of the bullets of the enemy becoming powerless and turning to water. Then came the news of Dr. Jameson's march and surrender, and the Matabele chiefs knew that the country was stripped of its usual defenders, and that the only substantial force in the district were the newly-enrolled native police on a great many of whom they might count for assistance, if the insurrection became general. Their confidence was not misplaced; a very large section of the native police, who by their tyranny over their

brethren had fed the smouldering flame of discontent, went over to the enemy whilst the loyalty of the rest was so doubtful that it was thought well to disarm them.

Towards the end of March vague disquieting rumours reached Buluwayo. The natives were becoming insolent, and had in many instances disappeared from the farming districts, taking with them the cattle which they were tending for their masters. Yet no serious trouble was generally anticipated, though there were some voices raised in warning. On the 26th a revolt broke out amongst the Matabele in the Insiza and Filibusi districts.

There were at the time about fifteen hundred persons in Buluwayo, and about fifty at Gwelo, whilst two thousand were scattered up and down the country engaged in mining or farming. On these scattered communities the Matabele wreaked vengeance for the indignities they conceived themselves to have suffered. Homesteads were attacked and burnt, and men, women, and children ruthlessly slaughtered ere any

help could come to them from the centres. The people of Buluwayo hastened to the rescue; patrols rode out to the various districts to protect the defenceless settlers and bring them into the town. These little companies faced great numbers of the enemy with the most unflinching courage. Whilst on their way to the rescue, they encountered sights of a description that perforce raised a spirit of passionate revenge. The bodies of white settlers lay mutilated amongst the ruins of their dwellings; old and young, men and women alike, formed the ghastly company; the very animals had been wantonly slaughtered; and little wonder if the would-be rescuers determined that nothing short of extermination of the Matabele race could fully requite these fiendish acts.

It is computed that fully three hundred of the outlying settlers must have perished; the rest, more fortunate, concentrated in hastily-improvised laagers where a valiant defence was kept up, till the relieving parties arrived and escorted them to Buluwayo. But Buluwayo was singularly ill-prepared for a

desperate struggle such as each following day showed more clearly was destined to take place. Practically the whole of the Company's white police were by this time slowly returning to the country whence Dr. Jameson's ill-fated expedition had drawn them to Pretoria and thence to England, but it must of necessity be a long time before they could render any effective help; the black police had many of them gone over to the enemy, taking their rifles and ammunition with them, whilst those who remained nominally staunch could not be trusted; the volunteer force, known as the Rhodesia Horse, was partially disorganised, whilst, owing to the plague that was sweeping over the country, many of them could not be mounted; there were comparatively few rifles and no great amount of ordnance; provisions could only last about a month.

With the greatest energy and heroism the colonists set to work; a very strong laager was formed in the market square, whither on the first alarm of a general attack on the town all might retire. The native police

were disarmed; the chiefs who came in to profess their friendliness were detained. For, indeed, the greatest danger was internal not external; the friendly natives swarmed into the town, and treachery was feared. An attack of these pretended friends within, combined with a violent attack from without, would have carried the town, and one of the most awful massacres of later years would have occurred. Moreover, with every advantage gained by the enemy, the inclination on the part of those natives who supported the colonists to join their countrymen increased; and it was essential to take offensive measures in order to prevent their desertion to the enemy. Above all, though, it was necessary to keep the Mangwe-Buluwayo road open in order that supplies might not be cut off.

By the time that the straggling settlers had reached a place of safety practically the whole of the natives had risen in rebellion. The colonists were shut up in Buluwayo, Gwelo, and Belingwe; and the rest of the country was in the hands of the rebels.

There is no doubt that the white population was in a position of the extremest danger, and had the Matabele displayed any capacity for any part of the business of war except the *mêlée*, the three outposts would most likely have succumbed. Whether, however, the power of white men fighting behind barricades was too fresh in their memories from the recent war, or whether they suffered from want of organisation, or relied too much upon the support of their prophet, the "Mlimo," certain it is that a general attack upon the town was never made, but the struggle resolved itself into sharp skirmishes with the patrols from Buluwayo who were engaged in keeping the road open, in checking the near approach of the enemy. Moreover, they never attempted to hold the Mangwe Road, and did little to hinder the erection of the forts commanding it.

The forces of the town were reorganised under the name of the Buluwayo Field Force. The men composing it were some of the finest fighting material to be found in South Africa, thoroughly used to the climate, in splendid

trim, and the most accurate of shots. What this little body of about eight hundred, in company with about one hundred and fifty colonial natives, did against the ten thousand or more natives in rebellion Mr. Selous has described in his last work, "Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia."

The greatest anxiety was felt in England and in the Cape Colony as to the fate of the town of Buluwayo and the other beleaguered points. About Mr. Rhodes' safety, too, there was much uncertainty; at the time of the outbreak he was in the open country on a shooting expedition, and great fear was felt lest he had been cut off; eventually it turned out that he had been compelled to retreat to Gwelo, where he had perforce remained for some time; a relief column was organised at Mafeking to proceed to Buluwayo, and preparations were made for another column to proceed from Salisbury. This was effectually done during the months of April and May.

The Government of Rhodesia was at the time of the outbreak of the war in a transition state. Earl Grey, who was to take over the

civil administration, did not reach Buluwayo till the beginning of May, and Sir Richard Martin, who was appointed to be Commandant-General of the police force in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Matabeleland, and Mashonaland, and to have general control of all forces there in accordance with the decision of the Home Government as to the Company's military power, did not arrive till some time later.

Meanwhile Sir F. Carrington was also hurrying from London to take command of all the forces in Rhodesia; a relief force was being hastily prepared at Mafeking under Captain Plumer, and assistance from Fort Salisbury was also forthcoming. The Company at first declined the offer of Imperial troops, as they considered the forces on the spot were amply sufficient to cope with the disorder, but when news came of the terrific struggle that had been undergone by the Hon. Maurice Gifford and a mere handful of men, of how Captain Brand's patrol had been surrounded by a whole horde of enemies, and had cut their way out through a furious resistance, of how

the whole nation had risen against the whites, the offer was accepted.

Such a gallant fight was kept up by the Buluwayo Field Force that by the time help began to arrive they had succeeded in averting by their unaided efforts the most pressing danger. The town of Buluwayo was practically safe ; the natives were at some distance ; the forts on the Mangwe road had been pushed on, and no interruption of communication was to be feared.

As Captain Plumer's force approached the town it was considered safe to despatch a strong detachment to meet the Salisbury relief column which had advanced to Gwelo, and then, accompanied by Mr. Cecil Rhodes, began to make for Buluwayo. The march was successfully accomplished, and the two columns joined hands. Meanwhile, Captain Plumer had reached the capital, and had begun to carry the war into the enemy's country. Sir Richard Martin and Earl Grey had also arrived. It was then anticipated that the backbone of the rebellion was broken, and that peace would be restored, and for the

time being the order for the advance of the Imperial troops beyond Mafeking was cancelled.

But their services were soon required. Early in June came tales of murder of outlying settlers in Mashonaland, and in a few days it became evident that the first step of the Matabele struggle was to be repeated amongst the Mashonas. Small outlying colonies were surrounded, and massacres were general. The settlers were even less concentrated than in Matabeleland, and unspeakable anxiety prevailed among many families in England as the news came of isolated mining camps assailed by hosts of natives, and of hastily improvised laagers that could scarcely hold their own.

It is almost certain that the Mashonas were driven into hostilities by their former overlords, the Matabele, who thus created a diversion of which they were urgently in need; and, true to their former reputation, they proved little able to resist the opposition they had raised. However, the hussars who had been concentrated at Mafeking were marched

to Macloutsie, whence they proceeded up country. The Buluwayo relief column from Salisbury was recalled, and a simultaneous advance was made from the Beira district up to the seat of disturbance. Strong laagers were formed at the various stations, and for a time Fort Charter was hard pressed, but on the 2nd July it was relieved, and the worst of the Mashona rebellion was over. The chief Makoni, who had proved himself treacherous beyond measure, was court-martialled and shot by order of Major Watts; a subsequent enquiry into the affair exonerated the Major from all blame.

The Matabele, profiting by the eastern rebellion, proclaimed a son of Lobengula as king, and retreated into their natural stronghold in the Matoppo Hills. The struggle that followed was a severe one. Entrenched in the hills, and taking every advantage of the ground, they declined all general engagements in which they had learnt their hopeless inferiority, and contented themselves with small skirmishes in positions of their own choosing; and, though invariably worsted in their

struggles, they succeeded in inflicting so much loss upon the whites that they were able to boast of their victories, and the pacification of the country was perfectly impossible in the face of such reports.

Throughout the summer the disheartening contest continued. It was decided to regard the Matoppo Hills as a hostile area apart, to encircle the district with a chain of forts, and gradually drive the chiefs into submission. At this time the struggle was being kept on foot by a few desperate spirits who, on account of having been parties to some of the most dastardly outrages at the commencement of the war, had been excluded from the amnesty proclamation which had recently been issued. These, having nothing to hope for from peace, goaded on their fellows. Such, as far as can be seen from history, has always been the effect of a proclamation of amnesty with exceptions therefrom; yet one would imagine, from the tone of militant criticism directed against it, that it was a novel experiment. To terminate a struggle of this kind there is no alternative course save the one

referred to as *solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, a course one is compelled to think recommended itself to some of the objectors at the time.

A successful battle fought by Colonel Plumer in the beginning of August cleared the way for a settlement, and in October Mr. Rhodes took an important step towards pacification. Accompanied by Mr. Colenbrander as interpreter, and two or three Cape natives, he went unarmed into the hills and sought a parley with the chiefs. This confidence disarmed the innate hostility of the chiefs, and they met the little party without any weapons save one or two battle-axes. These chiefs were the head and front of the rebellion. They admitted that they were tired of fighting, and were prepared to come in and surrender; but they made bitter complaints of the conduct of one or two of the officials, one of them a native Commissioner, and the other an official high in the service of the Company. They added that neither Mr. Rhodes nor Dr. Jameson knew the things that had been done in Matabeleland; but if Mr.

Rhodes would look after their interests they were content. Mr. Rhodes replied that the obnoxious officials had been removed, and strongly denounced the massacres of innocent women and children that had taken place at the commencement of the war. He informed the chiefs that they must surrender unconditionally, and asked if they intended to do so. Secombo, the leader, thereupon laid an assegai and a gun at Mr. Rhodes' feet in token of his subjection. So ended the indaba or parley. It was a most important step towards concluding the war. The courageous action of the little party in advancing unarmed into their enemy's stronghold caused great admiration amongst the chiefs, and confirmed their high opinion of Mr. Rhodes. A great step had been taken towards repairing the evil caused by the Transvaal raid.

This indaba did not quite conclude the struggle. The natives came in and gave up their arms very slowly. The warriors whose chiefs had not been in conference still kept up the unequal struggle, whilst the Mashona revolt still flickered on in the east; but by the begin-

ning of December the end had come. Many persons were of opinion that another rising would occur as soon as the Imperial forces had withdrawn, and the settlers were once more scattered; but the disarming of the natives had been more rigorous this time, and, besides, with every advantage on their side at the commencement of the revolt, they had to confess to having been thoroughly worsted; and they were not likely to quickly forget it. If, indeed, any idea of another rising occurs to them, the railways which are now being pushed forward from Beira to Salisbury, and from the south to Buluwayo, will cause a rising to be without any hope of success. The natives will here, as elsewhere, have to accept the inevitable, and settle down quietly under their new conditions. Let not this task be made harder than is necessary. Grim tales of cruelty towards natives reach us from time to time from the districts of Rhodesia, and not all the orthodox cant as to "encroaching civilisation" can hide the fact that there are many men in Rhodesia who seem to have learnt to hold human life

as cheap as ever did those warriors of Lobengula, whom they condemn as little better than the brutes.

The native uneasiness next found vent in British Bechuanaland, where severe measures had to be taken towards the end of the year; but by this time, fortunately, the disquietude of the continent seems to have been laid to rest. Mr. Rhodes, on his return from London at the end of the year, was able to speak at Cape Town most hopefully of the future of Rhodesia. That it may continue to prosper in a fortunate course after the storms and troubles that have beset it at the commencement of its progress must be the cordial wish of every Englishman.

CHAPTER IX.

The Trial at Bar—The Indictment Upheld—The Lord Chief Justice Sums Up—Guilty or Not Guilty—The Verdict—The Sentence—Feeling in the Country—First-class Misdemeanants—Release of Dr. Jameson—The Parliamentary Committee—Mr. Rhodes the First Witness—Mr. Chamberlain's Home Rule for the Rand—Boer Suspicion—Volksraad Legislation, Good and Bad—The Press Law—The Aliens' Expulsion Law—Suppression of the *Critic*—The Volksraad and the Judiciary—A Black Outlook.

WHILST in Rhodesia the struggle with the natives, induced by the raid with its concomitant removal from the district of its natural defenders, was still protracted at a most costly expenditure of life, white and black, the last act in the drama was being played out in England. On the 20th July the trial of Dr. Jameson and his companions commenced.

On the application of the Attorney-General the trial took place at bar, that is, before two or more judges of the Queen's Bench Division sitting *in banc*, with a jury. The presiding judges were the Lord Chief Justice of England (Lord Russell of Killowen), Mr. Baron Pollock, and Mr. Justice Hawkins. A most brilliant array of counsel were engaged in the case. For the Crown the Attorney-General (Sir Richard Webster, Q.C.) and the Solicitor-General (Sir Robert Finlay, Q.C.) were assisted by Mr. Henry Sutton, Mr. Charles Mathews, Mr. Ivory, and Mr. Rawlinson; Sir Edward Clarke, Q.C., Mr. Carson, Q.C., and Mr. C. F. Gill appeared for all the defendants except Major Grey and Hon. Charles Coventry, who were represented by Sir F. Lockwood, Q.C., Hon. A. Lyttelton, Mr. J. P. Wallis, and Mr. J. Roskill; whilst Mr. H. Spensley appeared for Dr. Jameson; the interests of the Transvaal Government were entrusted to Mr. Cohen, Q.C., Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Cassel.

The trial excited the greatest amount of public interest; it was known that there had been difficulty in framing the case against the

prisoners, and also that there were technical objections to be raised; the general sense of the people deprecated any acquittal on such grounds, for it was felt that the eyes of the world were fixed upon the English Courts of Justice. Of nothing are we more rightfully jealous than the unswerving impartiality of English justice, and those who can free themselves from the soul-blinding glamour of the expansion of Empire, and can look the rights and wrongs of that expansion in the face, find solace for much that meets with their just disapproval in the fact that by whatever methods the English flag is hoisted over distant regions of the earth, justice follows it everywhere.

The trial lasted seven days. Each day the court was attended by a fashionable crowd, which filled the court long before the time appointed for the hearing, and as the trial drew to its close the excitement grew intense.

The prisoners were indicted on twelve separate counts under the Foreign Enlistment Act, s. 11, ss. 1 and 2.

At the very commencement the defence

attempted to quash the indictment on a purely technical defect, but this objection was overruled, and the Crown proceeded to call its witnesses.

Many of the witnesses were attached by ties of the greatest regard for the prisoners, and gave their evidence with the greatest reluctance. Yet, even so, cross-examination availed but little, and long before the tale of evidence was complete the prisoners stood convicted of the statutory offence. The objection was taken at the conclusion of the Crown's case that no evidence had been given to show that the Foreign Enlistment Act applied to British Bechuanaland, where Mafeking and Pitsani were situate. This view was not upheld, as the Court considered that the annexation of British Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony involved the application of the Act to the district.

In their speeches for their respective clients Sir Edward Clarke and Sir Frank Lockwood lost no opportunity to press the jury for an acquittal; and considerations of motive were involved. When the Attorney-General's

thankless task of presenting the case for the Crown was concluded, the Lord Chief Justice proceeded to sum up. He concluded as follows:—"Do or do not these facts satisfy you beyond reasonable doubt that each of these defendants with perhaps varying degrees of prominence, and varying, it may be, measures of responsibility, was concerting with the rest, and that all who were concerting together there at Pitsani Pitlogo and those at Mafeking for the purpose of carrying out an expedition into the Transvaal. I must again, because it is so important, remind you of what is an expedition within the meaning of that Act. It is for the Court to describe what it is, it is for the jury to say whether in effect the expedition amounts to such an expedition as the Court declares to be an expedition within the meaning of the section. I wish to point out to you, and I cannot do it better than by recurring to the language I have already used that in point of law it is not less than an expedition against the dominions of a friendly State, even if it was not aimed at overthrowing the Republic, or was prompted by philan-

thropic or humane motives, or aimed at obtaining some reform of law. If the expedition was designed to enter the Transvaal with the intention either by the show of force or by active force to interfere with the constituted Government laws or administration of the Government, or to procure by such means a reform in its laws and administration, or to substitute by force, or by show of force, its own protection for the protection of the existing law and administration, or to join with them in overawing the Government in order to obtain a change in the law, this would be an expedition illegal within the meaning of the Act."

The usual practice of calling upon the jury to answer "Guilty" or "Not Guilty" was not followed, but instead a series of questions were put to them which they were to answer categorically; a course unusual but not unprecedented. The questions were as follow:

- (1) Were the defendants, or any or which of them, engaged in the preparation of an expedition at Mafeking to proceed, or with the intention that

it should proceed, against a friendly State, the South African Republic.

- (2) Did the defendants, or any or which of them, assist in the preparation of such expedition, or aid, abet, counsel, or procure such preparation.
- (3) Were the defendants, or any or which of them, employed in any capacity in such expedition.

The same questions were put with reference to Pitsani Pitlogo, with the additional question whether her Majesty by her reprisals did in fact exercise dominion and sovereignty in the district in which Pitsani Pitlogo is situate.

The jury returned answers unfavourable to the prisoners to all these questions, but desired to add a rider to the effect that the condition of the Republic constituted a great provocation. They were directed that their answers amounted to a verdict of guilty, and that such a verdict must be returned. One of their number declined at first to comply, but on pressure from his fellows reluctantly gave

way, and a verdict of guilty was returned. Sir Edward Clarke proposed to move in arrest of judgment, but the prisoners themselves decided to abide by the finding of the Court. The Lord Chief Justice then pronounced sentence in the following terms:—

“I have now the duty—not pleasant—of pronouncing sentence which this Court, after anxious deliberation, thinks that it is necessary to pass in vindication of the law against which you have offended. The jury have arrived at this result upon evidence which I think no reasonable man, honestly applying his mind, could doubt—can doubt—not only justifies, but renders imperative if they are to discharge their duty honestly and fearlessly by the verdict at which they have arrived. You are all of you men of position and men of intelligence. All of you, with one exception, I think, had the honour of holding the direct commission of the Queen. One of you held an important position under the authority of the Queen. I am most reluctant to say anything to aggravate your position. But I must say that the fact of your intelligence and the

position of trust and confidence and authority in the service of your Queen which you held aggravate the character of the offence which you have committed. The offence itself is a grave one. As I took occasion to point out in addressing the jury, in the case of great crimes the consequences end with the actual facts which constitute the crime itself, which are directly connected with it. In this case we know the immediate consequences of your crime. It has been the loss of human life ; it has been the disturbance of public peace ; it has been the creation of a certain distrust of public professions and of public faith. Whether the consequences end there I do not stop to enquire. It is our duty in these circumstances to give effect to the view which we take of what is the punishment adequate to an offence of this kind. Although you all took part in this illegal expedition, your positions differed, your responsibilities differ. In giving sentence we must make some difference in the character of the sentences to give effect to this difference."

The Lord Chief Justice then proceeded to

give sentence. Dr. Jameson was to be imprisoned for fifteen months, Sir John Willoughby for ten months, Major Robert White for seven months; the rest (Colonel Grey, Colonel Henry White, Major Coventry) five months. No hard labour was inflicted.

The general feeling at the conclusion was one of relief that legal technicalities had not succeeded. As previously mentioned, there was a wide-spread impression that an acquittal on technical grounds would not have raised the credit of England; the offence within the statute was clearly shown to have been committed; and, however justified in point of private law the technical acquittal might have been, the trial so far partook of an international nature that it was well such justification had not to be pleaded. On the Continent, and in Germany especially, the event of the trial was baffling. The Press had, almost without exception, been engaged in throwing ridicule on the *bona fides* of the whole of the judicial proceedings, and making the most unfounded charges of connivance against the English Government; to turn round and

praise English justice for its impartiality proved almost too great a task: a few papers, however, succeeded.

No special order had been made at the trial as to the status of the prisoners, and the result of this was to leave them to be treated as ordinary criminals. Yet it was felt on all hands that this was utterly unreasonable, and that the idea of exposing them to the ordinary indignities of prison life was revolting. Agitation was raised, both in and out of Parliament, to secure to the raiders the treatment accorded to first-class misdemeanants. The distinction between political and non-political crimes had to be unearthed, and the Home Secretary advised Her Majesty to order the necessary change, and this was duly carried out.

One more scene remains. In the early part of November sinister rumours were afloat concerning the health of Dr. Jameson. These rumours gained ground, and it transpired that he had been suffering greatly from depression, and that his state gave the greatest reason for anxiety; and a petition was immediately raised for his release. No hesitation was

felt as to the necessity for this the moment it was conclusively proved that further confinement was dangerous; but an insignificant, noisy clique, who had been for some months attacking the Executive for its action in releasing some of the Irish dynamitards from Portland, condemned any delay in the matter, and the statements as to Dr. Jameson being sacrificed to propitiate President Kruger were once more brought into use. Dr. Broadbent was specially called in to examine Dr. Jameson, and on his report the prisoner was released on the 2nd December, after four months of imprisonment. For some time afterwards his health caused much anxiety, but all fears are now fortunately dispelled. Major Coventry was likewise released on medical grounds, and all the prisoners are now at liberty.

At this point we must take leave of the expedition and its leaders. Already time is dispelling the mists that shrouded and distorted the facts of the struggle amongst the hills of Krugersdorp in the opening of the year 1896. The act itself, and its causes and consequences are being differentiated. We may

applaud to the full the dash, the courage, the resource, and the endurance evinced by leaders and followers alike without thereby approving the violation of the Transvaal. We may even rejoice that the expedition failed without being regarded as traitors. It has been our good fortune to have had demonstrated more than once in South Africa in the last few years how fearlessly Englishmen can face death at the hands of overwhelming odds, and how closely the band of a common nationality draws them together; but no more perfect demonstration of either was ever given than in this ill-starred and ill-conceived foray, which sowed seeds of trouble that have already borne much noxious fruit, whilst others yet lie hidden in Transvaal soil.

It has been noticed that a committee to investigate the raid and to enquire into the administration of the Chartered Company had been decided upon by the English Government. The enquiry by this committee was postponed till after the conclusion of the trial at bar; but a similar enquiry by the Cape Parliament was proceeded with and reported in the

middle of July. The majority report absolved the members of the Colonial Government other than Mr. Rhodes from all knowledge of the raid, but implicated Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Beit, Mr. Rutherford Harris, and Dr. Jameson ; the minority report found no evidence as to Mr. Rhodes' complicity.

The proceedings of our own Parliamentary committee were postponed until the opening of the new Session. On the meeting of Parliament an unexpectedly strong opposition was brought against any further proceeding in the matter, but this was overborne, and the committee held its first meeting on the 16th February. The committee was composed of fifteen members of the House of Commons—the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain), the Attorney-General (Sir Richard Webster), Sir William Harcourt, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir W. Hart-Dyke, Mr. J. Ellis, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Bigham, Mr. Blake, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Wharton, and Mr. Wyndham. Mr. Jackson was appointed

chairman. The scope of the committee was thus defined: "To enquire into the origin and circumstances of the incursion into the South African Republic by an armed force, and into the administration of the British South Africa Company and to report thereon, and, further, to report what alterations are desirable in the government of the territories under the control of the Company, and that the committee have leave to hear counsel to such extent as they shall see fit, and have power to send for persons, papers, and records." This committee is still sitting. Mr. Rhodes was the first witness called before the committee. He had offered through his solicitor to return to England to take his trial for his alleged complicity in the raid on the conclusion of the trial of Dr. Jameson and his companions, but this had not been required of him, and it was not till the middle of January of this present year that he arrived in London to give evidence. He and Mr. Beit had resigned their positions as directors of the company in June previous.

For our conclusion we must revert to

South' Africa. Once more, the doings of the Transvaal Republic are assuming an important position in our newspapers. Once more political tension is great.

It was not to be hoped that with the resumption by Johannesburg of its ordinary peaceful avocations the raid would be forgotten. It is very easy to say "Forget and forgive"; but the process of hand-shaking, even after a stand-up fight, however effectual in producing peace among school-boys, or even sometimes among prize-fighters, has never proved particularly fruitful of good results in the case of communities; and in the present case the fight had been stopped half-way, which made matters worse; so that no surprise need be felt that there was a considerable residuum of friction which threatened to cause a conflagration if much provocation was given by either side. The Boers, disunited prior to the raid by the progressive tendencies of the younger generation, were now united in distrust of English methods; the Uitlanders felt they had been outwitted and deceived, and remained resentful. It was unfortunate, too, that the

projected visit of the President to England proved a failure ; but whether umbrage was taken at the fact that a scheme proposed by Mr. Chamberlain for affording a measure of local self-government to Johannesburg for the consideration of the Republic was placed before the British Parliament before any communication in reply to it had been made by the President on behalf of the Republic, or whether Mr. Kruger allowed himself to be over-persuaded by the small anti-British clique at Pretoria, it came about that a remonstrance was made against the attempt on the part of the British Government to regulate the internal affairs of the Republic, and the negotiations for the President's visit were abruptly broken off.

Still the first part of the year 1896 showed a marked progress to better things ; it is true that Boer distrust and suspicion reached such a pitch that urgent representations were made to the High Commissioner of the uneasiness caused by the concentration at Mafeking of the troops on the way to the scene of war in Rhodesia, that they were, in fact, destined for

an invasion of the Transvaal ; but to counter-balance this there was the good feeling caused by the offer of the President of Boer auxiliaries to assist the settlers in Buluwayo ; and despite the unscrupulous abuse of the Boers and all their works to which a large section of the English Press too readily opened its columns, it seemed at one period that the Transvaal question was on its way to a settlement.

A law was passed by the Volksraad in July which prohibited the sale of liquor to natives, and this measure met with a full measure of approval from the Uitlanders ; and the legislation, too, which followed shortly afterwards, whereby a grant of substantial amount from the Treasury for children's education was made, was likewise a step in the right direction, although accompanied by a condition requiring the attainment of a certain standard in the Dutch language. But following on these there came other acts which went far to undo the good impression previously conveyed, and to cause the resurrection of discontent.

Transvaal legislation and policy would seem to have a dual personality ; at one time conciliatory and tending to the best interests of the community ; at another, harsh, reactionary, anti-social. From September onwards the latter tendency held sway. What there is to account for this change of attitude it is hard to say, if President Kruger is possessed of that despotic power which is often attributed to him by his detractors in the Press ; if he dances at someone else's bidding, no explanation is necessary for the change of front.

The two pieces of legislation just referred to are the Aliens' Expulsion Law and the Press Law, which were passed within a very short period of one another. The Aliens' Expulsion Law conferred on the Executive power to order any alien who was regarded as dangerous to public peace to quit the country, and on his making default in so doing he was liable to six months' imprisonment. This legislation conferred on the Executive a most arbitrary and unwholesome jurisdiction, as it was possible by exercise of this power on some flimsy pretext to

seize any alien who was obnoxious to the Government by reason of his political views. The second law imposed on the Press some extraordinary restrictions. All publications were to bear the name of the printer, to state whether for distribution or not, and to contain the name and address of the publisher; all periodicals were to have the name of the editor, and all articles of a political or personal nature were to be signed by their writers. The Executive had the right to prohibit the circulation of anything which seemed to them objectionable. A penalty of £250 was imposed for any libellous or indecent matter, and a penalty of not more than £500 for any matter inciting to an offence, and the editor of the paper was to be considered as the perpetrator of the offence whether he was the writer or not.

Those who regarded the passing of these reactionary measures as a transitory phase in the conduct of the Government were destined to disappointment. The retrogressive party in the Government had gained strength, and the progressive party was weakened. Almost

the last act in the year 1896 was the suppression of the *Critic*, a paper which fearlessly advocated a forward policy, and steadily maintained the Uitlander cause.

Reference has been made at a previous stage of this book to the desire of the Volksraad to subordinate the judicial bench to their wishes by making the Grondwet susceptible to alteration by a mere decree of the Raad, so that the judges should have no power to examine the acts of the Chamber in the light of the written constitution. The judges have uniformly resisted this attempt till the present time. At this time, however, the question has reached an acute phase. The judges, in the case of *Brown v. the State*, applied the testing power which they claim to a resolution of the Volksraad, and found it not in accordance with the Grondwet. They declared that a resolution of the Volksraad had not the force of law, and that they had a right to examine such resolutions, and decide whether or not they were contrary to the fundamental law. This the Executive have determined to stop. A law has been promulgated setting

forth that the Volksraad have power to alter the Grondwet by other decrees, and enacting that the judges shall take an oath not to test the resolutions of the Assembly; and that the President shall have power to question the judges whether they consider this oath to be contrary to their office, and to remove any contumacious judges. The latest intelligence is to the effect that the judges have acknowledged the superiority of the Raad and the validity of this new law, and have promised obedience thereto on condition that a complete revision of the Grondwet is undertaken.

From a constitutional standpoint it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this change. The judiciary will become entirely dependent on the Raad; the constitution will be changed to suit the political feeling of the moment; and the judges will be consenting parties. With the disappearance of the independence of the judges the Uitlanders feel more than ever deprived of constitutional rights.

The last act of the Government has been

the suppression of the *Star*, which, after the disappearance of the *Critic*, remained the only mouthpiece of Uitlander opinion. The result of this arbitrary act on the Johannesburgers can readily be understood.

Undoubtedly the outlook in South Africa is at the present moment unpromising. Not only is the perverted course of action on which the Government has entered causing the return of the angry feelings upon the Raad which culminated in the episodes above described, but there is a great amount of friction with the Cape authorities and the Home Government. The demand has recently been made upon the Chartered Company and the Home Government for an indemnity in connection with the Raid. The damage inflicted upon the Republic has been assessed at over £1,500,000, a sum which seems ludicrously excessive, and which has been so regarded in this country. The attempt to swell the damage to such dimensions has alienated many who would willingly have given a handsome sum for the wrong which has been inflicted.

The present is not a happy moment at which to close a story of South Africa. It is more than likely that the next few months will witness some startling developments. That the Boers give their enemies every opportunity to blaspheme is fairly evident. That it is to the interests of a section in England—a section neither unimportant nor over-scrupulous—to provoke a struggle with the Transvaal is also evident, and never more so than in these last days of March, 1897. That common-sense, coupled with a restriction on the beneficent and altruistic despotism of Throgmorton Street, will avert this calamity is earnestly to be wished. Whether or not the historian of the future shall have to record in the closing years of the nineteenth century a costly war in South Africa, which shall hurl far apart the two white races and shall breed mistrust and hatred for generations to come, depends upon the English people. The standing complaint against the Transvaal is that it is being managed by a small clique for their own benefit, to the disadvantage of the country; do not let us allow England to fall into the

same position. Patriotism, like many other things at the present time, is being run by a syndicate which intends to make a very handsome profit out of the sale of it to the public ; but the public have plenty of it already, and of the right quality, from a better source.

FINIS.

1871
The first of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor. The
winter was also very
dry and the crops
were very poor.

The second of the year
was a very wet one
and the crops were
very good. The
winter was also very
wet and the crops
were very good.

The third of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor. The
winter was also very
dry and the crops
were very poor.

The fourth of the year
was a very wet one
and the crops were
very good. The
winter was also very
wet and the crops
were very good.

APPENDIX A.

CONVENTION OF PRETORIA, 1881.

Article 1 defines the boundaries of the Transvaal State.

Article 2. Her Majesty reserves to herself, her heirs and successors, (a) the right from time to time to appoint a British Resident in and for the said State, with such duties and functions as are hereinafter defined; (b) the right to move troops through the said State in time of war, or in case of the apprehension of immediate war between the Suzerain Power and any Foreign State or native tribe in South Africa; and (c) the control of the external relations of the said State, including the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with Foreign Powers,

such intercourse to be carried on through Her Majesty's diplomatic and consular officers abroad.

Article 3. Until altered by the Volksraad, or other competent authority, all laws, whether passed before or after the annexation of the Transvaal territory to Her Majesty's dominions, shall, except in so far as they are inconsistent with or repugnant to the provisions of this Convention, be and remain in force in the said State in so far as they shall be applicable thereto, provided that no future enactment especially affecting the interest of natives shall have any force or effect in the said State, without the consent of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, first had and obtained and signified to the Government of the said State through the British Resident, provided further that in no case will the repeal or amendment of any laws enacted since the annexation have a retrospective effect, so as to invalidate any acts done or liabilities incurred by virtue of such laws.

Article 4. On the 8th day of August 1881 the Government of the said State, together

with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, and all State property taken over at the time of annexation, save and except munitions of war, will be handed over to Messrs. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, or the survivor or survivors of them, who will forthwith cause a Volksraad to be elected and convened, and the Volksraad, thus elected and convened, will decide as to the further administration of the Government of the said State.

Article 5. All sentences passed upon persons who may be convicted of offences contrary to the rules of civilised warfare committed during the recent hostilities will be duly carried out, and no alteration or mitigation of such sentences will be made or allowed by the Government of the Transvaal State without Her Majesty's consent conveyed through the British Resident. In case there shall be any prisoners in any of the gaols of the Transvaal State whose respective sentences of imprisonment have been remitted in part by Her Majesty's Administrator or other

officer administering the Government, such remission will be recognised and acted upon by the future Government of the said State.

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Article 12. All persons holding property in the said State on the 8th day of August 1881 will continue after the said date to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the annexation. No person who has remained loyal to Her Majesty during the recent hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty, or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connection with such hostilities, and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

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Article 15. There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order, and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

Article 16. The provisions of the Fourth Article of the Sand River Convention are hereby re-affirmed, and no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said State.

Article 17. The British Resident will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such assistance and support as can by law be given to him for the due discharge of his functions; he will also receive every assistance for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of Her Majesty's forces as have died in the Transvaal, and if need be for the expropriation of land for the purpose.

Article 18. The following will be the duties and functions of the British Resident:—

Sub-section 1. He will perform duties and functions analogous to those discharged by a Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General.

Sub-section 2. In regard to natives within the Transvaal State he will (*a*) report to the High Commissioner, as representative of the Suzerain, as to the working and observance of the provisions of this Convention; (*b*) report to the Transvaal authorities any cases of ill-

treatment of natives or attempts to incite natives to rebellion that may come to his knowledge; (c) use his influence with the natives in favour of law and order; and (d) generally perform such other duties as are by this Convention entrusted to him, and take such steps for the protection of the person and property of natives as are consistent with the laws of the land.

Sub-section 3. In regard to natives not residing in the Transvaal (a) he will report to the High Commissioner and the Transvaal Government any encroachments reported to him as having been made by Transvaal residents upon the land of such natives, and in case of disagreement between the Transvaal Government and the British Resident as to whether an encroachment has been made, the decision of the Suzerain will be final; (b) the British Resident will be the medium of communication with native chiefs outside the Transvaal, and, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, as representing the Suzerain, he will control the conclusion of treaties with them; and (c) he will arbitrate upon

every dispute between Transvaal residents and natives outside the Transvaal (as to acts committed beyond the boundaries of the Transvaal) which may be referred to him by the parties interested.

Sub-section 4. In regard to communications with foreign powers, the Transvaal Government will correspond with Her Majesty's Government through the British Resident and the High Commissioner.

Article 19. The Government of the Transvaal State will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the First Article of this Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachment upon lands beyond the said State.

Article 20. All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of the Transvaal State, as defined, Article 1, shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the Transvaal State, and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect will

receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such compensation either in land or in money as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any native chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate consideration from the Government of the former South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the First Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the British Resident will, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, use his influence to recover from the native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, and of the permanent improvement thereon.

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Article 25. No other or higher duties will be imposed on the importation into the Transvaal State of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of Her Majesty, from whatever place arriving, than are or may be payable on the like article the produce or manufacture of any other country, nor will any prohibition be main-

tained or imposed on the importation of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of Her Majesty, which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like articles being the produce or manufacture of any other country.

Article 26. All persons other than natives conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State (*a*) will have full liberty with their families to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the Transvaal State; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think to employ; (*d*) they will not be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon Transvaal citizens.

Article 27. All inhabitants of the Transvaal shall have free access to the Courts of Justice for the protection and defence of their rights.

Article 28. All persons other than natives who established their domicile in the Transvaal

between the 12th day of April 1877 and the date when this Convention comes into effect, and who shall within twelve months after such last-mentioned date have their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever. The Resident shall notify such registration to the Government of the Transvaal State.

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Article 32. This Convention will be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad within the period of three months after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

Article 33. Forthwith, after the ratification of this Convention, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, all British troops in Transvaal territory will leave the same, and the mutual delivery of munitions of war will be carried out.

APPENDIX B.

LONDON CONVENTION, 1884.

The 1st Article defines the boundaries.

Article 2. The Government of the South African Republic will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the first Article of this Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachments upon lands beyond the said boundaries. The Government of the South African Republic will appoint Commissioners upon the eastern and western borders whose duty it will be strictly to guard against irregularities and all trespassing over the boundaries. Her Majesty's Government will, if necessary, appoint Commissioners in the native territories outside the eastern and western borders of the

South African Republic to maintain order and prevent encroachments.

Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African Republic will each appoint a person to proceed together to beacon off the amended south-west boundary as described in Article 1 of this Convention; and the President of the Orange Free State shall be requested to appoint a referee to whom the said persons shall refer any questions on which they may disagree respecting the interpretation of the said Article, and the decision of such referee thereon shall be final. The arrangement already made, under the terms of Article 19 of the Convention of Pretoria of the 3rd August 1881, between the owners of the farms Grootfontein and Valleifontein on the one hand, and the Baralong authorities on the other, by which a fair share of the water supply of the said farms shall be allowed to flow undisturbed to the said Baralongs, shall continue in force.

Article 3. If a British officer is appointed to reside at Pretoria or elsewhere within the South African Republic to discharge functions

analogous to those of a Consular officer he will receive the protection and assistance of the Republic.

Article 4. The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen.

Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if Her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa.

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Article 7. All persons who held property in the Transvaal on the 8th day of August 1881, and still hold the same, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the 12th April 1877. No person

who has remained loyal to Her Majesty during the late hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty; or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connection with such hostilities; and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

Article 8. The South African Republic renews the declaration made in the Sand River Convention, and in the Convention of Pretoria, that no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said Republic.

Article 9. There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order; and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

Article 10. The British Officer appointed to reside in the South African Republic will re-

ceive every assistance from the Government of the said Republic in making due provision for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of Her Majesty's forces as have died in the Transvaal ; and, if need be, for the appropriation of land for the purpose.

Article 11. All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of the South African Republic, as defined in Article 1, shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the South African Republic ; and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect will receive from the Government of the South African Republic such compensation, either in land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any native chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate consideration from the Government of the South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the first Article of this Convention, or

where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the High Commissioner will recover from the native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, or of the permanent improvements thereon.

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Article 13. Except in pursuance of any treaty or engagement made as provided in Article 4 of this Convention, no other or higher duties shall be imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions than are or may be imposed on the like article coming from any other place or country; nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions which shall not equally extend to the like article coming from any other place or country. And in like manner the same treatment shall be given to any article coming to Great Britain from the South African Republic as

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to the like article coming from any other place or country.

These provisions do not preclude the consideration of special arrangements as to import duties and commercial relations between the South African Republic and any of Her Majesty's colonies or possessions.

Article 14. All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (*d*) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic.

Article 15. All persons, other than natives, who established their domicile in the Trans-

vaal between the 12th day of April 1877 and the 8th August 1881, and who within twelve months after such last-mentioned date have had their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever.

Article 16. Provision shall hereafter be made by a separate instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from Her Majesty's Forces.

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Article 18. No grants of land which may have been made, and no transfers or mortgages which may have been passed, between the 12th April 1877 and the 8th August 1881, will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed between such dates.

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Article 20. This convention will be ratified by a Volksraad of the South African Republic within the period of six months after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

APPENDIX C.

CHARTER OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.

VICTORIA by the Grace of God, of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To all of whom these presents shall come,
Greeting :

WHEREAS a Humble Petition has been
presented to Us in Our Council by THE
MOST NOBLE JAMES DUKE OF ABER-
CORN, Companion of the Most Honour-
able Order of the Bath ; THE MOST NOBLE
ALEXANDER WILLIAM GEORGE
DUKE OF FIFE, Knight of the Most
Ancient and Most Noble Order of the

Thistle, Privy Councillor ; THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDRIC FREDERICK LORD GIFFORD, V.C. ; CECIL JOHN RHODES, of Kimberley, in the Cape Colony, Member of the Executive Council and of the House of Assembly of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ; ALFRED BEIT, of 29, Holborn Viaduct, London, Merchant ; ALBERT HENRY GEORGE GREY, of Howick, Northumberland, ESQUIRE ; and GEORGE CAWSTON, of 18, Lennox Gardens, London, ESQUIRE, Barrister-at-Law.

AND WHEREAS the said Petition states amongst other things :—

That the Petitioners and others are associated for the purpose of forming a Company or Association, to be incorporated, if to Us should seem fit, for the objects in the said Petition set forth, under the corporate name of the British South Africa Company.

That the existence of a powerful British Company, controlled by those of Our subjects

in whom we have confidence, and having its principal field of operations in that region of South Africa lying to the north of Bechuanaland and to the west of Portuguese East Africa, would be advantageous to the commercial and other interests of Our subjects in the United Kingdom and in Our Colonies.

That the Petitioners desire to carry into effect divers concessions and agreements which have been made by certain of the chiefs and tribes inhabiting the said region, and such other concessions, agreements, grants and treaties as the Petitioners may hereafter obtain within the said region or elsewhere in Africa, with the view of promoting trade, commerce, civilisation and good government (including the regulation of liquor traffic with the natives) in the territories which are or may be comprised or referred to in such concessions, agreements, grants and treaties as aforesaid.

That the Petitioners believe that if the said concessions, agreements, grants and

treaties can be carried into effect, the condition of the natives inhabiting the said territories will be materially improved and their civilisation advanced, and an organisation established which will tend to the suppression of the slave trade in the said territories, and to the opening up of the said territories to the immigration of Europeans, and to the lawful trade and commerce of Our subjects and of other nations.

That the success of the enterprise in which the Petitioners are engaged would be greatly advanced if it should seem fit to Us to grant them Our Royal Charter of incorporation as a British Company under the said name or title, or such other name or title, and with such powers as to Us may seem fit for the purpose of more effectually carrying into effect the objects aforesaid.

That large sums of money have been subscribed for the purposes of the intended Company by the Petitioners and others, who are prepared also to subscribe or to

procure such further sums as may hereafter be found requisite for the development of the said enterprise, in the event of Our being pleased to grant to them Our Royal Charter of incorporation as aforesaid.

NOW, THEREFORE, We having taken the said Petition into Our Royal consideration in Our Council, and being satisfied that the intentions of the Petitioners are praiseworthy and deserve encouragement, and that the enterprise in the Petition described may be productive of the benefits set forth therein, by Our Prerogative Royal and of Our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have constituted, erected and incorporated, and by this Our Charter for Us and Our Heirs and Royal successors do constitute, erect and incorporate into one body politic and corporate by the name of the British South Africa Company the said James Duke of Abercorn, Alexander William George Duke of Fife, Edric Frederick Lord Gifford, Cecil John

Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Albert Henry George Grey and George Cawston, and such other persons and such bodies as from time to time become and are members of the body politic and corporate by these present constituted, erected and incorporated with perpetual succession and a common seal, with power to break, alter or renew the same at discretion, and with the further authorities, powers and privileges conferred, and subject to the conditions imposed by this Our Charter: And We do hereby accordingly will, ordain, give, grant, constitute, appoint and declare as follows (that is to say):—

1. The principal field of the operations of The British South Africa Company (in this Our Charter referred to as “the Company”) shall be the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese dominions:—

2. The Company is hereby authorised and empowered to hold, use and retain for the

purposes of the Company, and on the terms of this Our Charter, the full benefit of the concessions and agreements made as aforesaid, so far as they are valid, or any of them, and all interests, authorities and powers comprised or referred to in the said concessions and agreements. Provided always that nothing herein contained shall prejudice or affect any other valid and subsisting concessions or agreements which may have been made by any of the chiefs or tribes aforesaid. And in particular nothing herein contained shall prejudice or affect certain concessions granted in and subsequent to the year 1880, relating to the territory usually known as the District of the Tati, nor shall anything herein contained be construed as giving any jurisdiction, administrative or otherwise, within the said district of the Tati, the limits of which District are as follows, viz.: from the place where the Shasi River rises to its junction with the Tati and Ramaquaban Rivers, thence along the Ramaquaban River to where it rises, and thence along the watershed of those rivers.

3. The Company is hereby further authorised and empowered, subject to the approval of one of Our Principal Secretaries of State (herein referred to as "Our Secretary of State"), from time to time, to acquire by any concession, agreement, grant or treaty all or any rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions and powers of any kind or nature whatever, including powers necessary for the purposes of government, and the preservation of public order in or for the protection of territories, lands or property, comprised or referred to in the concessions and agreements made as aforesaid, or affecting other territories, lands or property in Africa, or the inhabitants thereof, and to hold, use and exercise such territories, lands, property, rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions and powers respectively for the purposes of the Company and on the terms of this Our Charter.

4. Provided that no powers of government or administration shall be exercised under or in relation to any such last-mentioned concession, agreement, grant or treaty until a copy of such concession, agreement, grant or treaty

in such form and with such maps or particulars as Our Secretary of State approves, verified as he requires, has been transmitted to him, and he has signified his approval thereof, either absolutely or subject to any conditions or reservations. And provided also that no rights, interests, authorities, jurisdictions or powers of any description shall be acquired by the Company within the said District of the Tati as hereinbefore described without the previous consent in writing of the owners, for the time being, of the Concessions above referred to relating to the said District, and the approval of Our Secretary of State.

5. The Company shall be bound by and shall fulfil all and singular the stipulations on its part contained in any such concession, agreement, grant or treaty as aforesaid, subject to any subsequent agreement affecting those stipulations approved by our Secretary of State.

6. The Company shall always be and remain British in character and domicile, and shall have its principal office in Great Britain, and the Company's principal representative in

South Africa, and the Directors shall always be natural born British subjects, or persons who have been naturalised as British subjects by or under an Act of Parliament of our United Kingdom ; but this Article shall not disqualify any person nominated a Director by this Our Charter, or any person whose election as a Director shall have been approved by Our Secretary of State, from acting in that capacity.

7. In case at any time any difference arises between any chief or tribe inhabiting any of the territories aforesaid and the Company, that difference shall, if Our Secretary of State so require, be submitted by the Company to him for his decision, and the Company shall act in accordance with such decision.

8. If at any time Our Secretary of State thinks fit to dissent from or object to any of the dealings of the Company with any foreign power, and to make known to the Company any suggestion founded on that dissent or objection, the Company shall act in accordance with such suggestion.

9. If at any time Our Secretary of State

thinks fit to object to the exercise by the Company of any authority, power or right within any part of the territories aforesaid, on the ground of there being an adverse claim to or in respect of that part, the Company shall defer to that objection until such time as any such claim has been withdrawn or finally dealt with or settled by Our Secretary of State.

10. The Company shall to the best of its ability preserve peace and order in such ways and manners as it shall consider necessary, and may with that object make ordinances (to be approved by our Secretary of State) and may establish and maintain a force of police.

11. The Company shall to the best of its ability discourage, and, so far as may be practicable, abolish by degrees, any system of slave trade or domestic servitude in the territories aforesaid.

12. The Company shall regulate the traffic in spirits and other intoxicating liquors within the territories aforesaid, so as, as far as practicable, to prevent the sale of any spirits or other intoxicating liquor to any natives.

13. The Company as such, or its officers as such, shall not in any way interfere with the religion of any class or tribe of the peoples of the territories aforesaid or of any of the inhabitants thereof, except so far as may be necessary in the interests of humanity, and all forms of religious worship or religious ordinances may be exercised within the said territories and no hindrance shall be offered thereto, except as aforesaid.

14. In the administration of justice to the said peoples or inhabitants careful regard shall always be had to the customs and laws of the class or tribe or nation to which the parties respectively belong, especially with respect to the holding, possession, transfer and disposition of lands and goods and testate or intestate succession thereto, and marriage, divorce, and legitimacy and other rights of property and personal rights, but subject to any British laws which may be in force in any of the territories aforesaid, and applicable to the peoples or inhabitants thereof.

15. If at any time Our Secretary of State thinks fit to dissent from or object to any

part of the proceedings or system of the Company relative to the peoples of the territories aforesaid or to any of the inhabitants thereof, in respect of slavery or religion or the administration of justice, or any other matter, he shall make known to the Company his dissent or objection, and the Company shall act in accordance with his directions duly signified.

16. In the event of the Company acquiring any harbour or harbours, the Company shall freely afford all facilities for or to Our ships therein without payment, except reasonable charges for work done or services rendered or materials or things supplied.

17. The Company shall furnish annually to Our Secretary of State, as soon as conveniently may be after the close of the financial year, accounts of its expenditure for administrative purposes, and of all sums received by it by way of public revenue, as distinguished from its commercial profits during the financial year, together with a report as to its public proceedings and the condition of the territories within the sphere of its operations. The Company shall also on or before the com-

mencement of each financial year furnish to Our Secretary of State an estimate of its expenditure for administrative purposes, and of its public revenue (as above defined) for the ensuing year. The Company shall in addition from time to time furnish to Our Secretary of State any reports, accounts or information with which he may require to be furnished.

18. The several officers of the Company shall, subject to the rules of official subordination and to any regulations that may be agreed upon, communicate freely with Our High Commissioner in South Africa and any others Our officers who may be stationed within any of the territories aforesaid, and shall pay due regard to any requirements, suggestions or requests which the said High Commissioner or other officers shall make to them or any of them, and the Company shall be bound to enforce the observance of this Article.

19. The Company may hoist and use on its buildings and elsewhere in the territories aforesaid, and on its vessels, such distinctive

flag indicating the British character of the Company as Our Secretary of State and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty shall from time to time approve.

20. Nothing in this Our Charter shall be deemed to authorise the Company to set up or grant any monopoly of trade: Provided that the establishment of or the grant of concessions for banks, railways, tramways, docks, telegraphs, waterworks or any other similar undertakings, or the establishment of any system of patent or copyright approved by Our Secretary of State, shall not be deemed monopolies for this purpose. The Company shall not, either directly or indirectly, hinder any Company or persons who now are or hereafter may be lawfully and peaceably carrying on any business concern or venture within the said District of the Tati hereinbefore described, but shall by permitting and facilitating transit by every lawful means to and from the District of the Tati across its own territories or where it has jurisdiction in that behalf, and by all other reasonable and lawful means encourage, assist and protect all British subjects who

now are or hereafter may be lawfully and peaceably engaged in the prosecution of a lawful enterprise within the said District of the Tati.

21. For the preservation of elephants and other game the Company may make such other regulations and (notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained) may impose such license duties on the killing or taking of elephants or other game as they may think fit: Provided that nothing in such regulations shall extend to diminish or interfere with any hunting rights which may have been or may hereafter be reserved to any native chiefs or tribes by treaty, save so far as any such regulations may relate to the establishment and enforcement of a close season.

22. The Company shall be subject to and shall perform and undertake all the obligations contained in or undertaken by Ourselves under any treaty agreement or arrangement between Ourselves and any other State or Power whether already made or hereafter to be made. In all matters relating to the observance of this Article, or to the exercise

within the Company's territories for the time being, of any jurisdiction exercisable by Us under the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, the Company shall conform to and observe and carry out all such directions as may from time to time be given in that behalf by Our Secretary of State, and the Company shall appoint all necessary officers to perform such duties, and shall provide such courts and other requisites as may from time to time be necessary for the administration of justice.

23. The original share capital of the Company shall be £1,000,000 divided into 1,000,000 shares of £1 each.

24. The Company is hereby further specially authorised and empowered for the purposes of this Our Charter from time to time—

(I) To issue shares of different classes or descriptions, to increase the share capital of the Company, and to borrow moneys by debentures or other obligations.

(II) To acquire and hold, and to charter or otherwise deal with, steam vessels and other vessels.

- (III) To establish or authorise banking companies and other companies, and undertakings or associations of every description, for purposes consistent with the provisions of this Our Charter.
- (IV) To make and maintain roads, railways, telegraphs, harbours and any other works which may tend to the development or improvement of the territories of the Company.
- (v) To carry on mining and other industries, and to make concessions of mining, forestal or other rights.
- (VI) To improve, develop, clear, plant and irrigate and cultivate any lands included within the territories of the Company.
- (VII) To settle any such territories, lands and, as aforesaid, to aid and promote immigration.
- (VIII) To grant lands for terms of years or in perpetuity, and either absolutely or by way of mortgage or otherwise.

- (IX) To make loans or contributions of money or money's worth for promoting any of the objects of the Company.
- (X) To acquire and hold personal property.
- (XI) To acquire and hold (without license in mortmain or other authority than this Our Charter) lands in the United Kingdom, not exceeding five acres in all at any one time, for the purposes of the offices and business of the Company, and (subject to any local law) lands in any of Our Colonies or Possessions and elsewhere, convenient for carrying on the management of the affairs of the Company, and to dispose from time to time of any such lands when not required for that purpose.
- (XII) To carry on any lawful commerce, trade, pursuit, business, operations or dealing whatsoever in connection with the objects of the Company.

- (XIII) To establish and maintain agencies in Our Colonies and Possessions, and elsewhere.
- (XIV) To sue and be sued by the Company's name of incorporation, as well in Our Courts in Our United Kingdom, or in Our Courts in Our Colonies or Possessions, or in Our Courts in Foreign countries, or elsewhere.
- (XV) To do all lawful things incidental or conducive to the exercise or enjoyment of the rights, interests, authorities and powers of the Company in this Our Charter expressed or referred to, or any of them.

25. Within one year after the date of this Our Charter, or such extended period as may be certified by Our Secretary of State, there shall be executed by the Members of the Company for the time being a Deed of Settlement, providing so far as necessary for—

- (I) The further definition of the objects and purposes of the Company.
- (II) The classes or descriptions of shares

into which the capital of the Company is divided, and the calls to be made in respect thereof, and the terms and conditions of Membership of the Company.

- (III) The division and distribution of profits.
- (IV) General Meetings of the Company; the appointment by Our Secretary of State (if so required by him) of an Official Director, and the number, qualification, appointment, remuneration, rotation, removal and powers of Directors of the Company, and of other officers of the Company.
- (V) The registration of Members of the Company and the transfer of shares in the capital of the Company.
- (VI) The preparation of annual accounts to be submitted to the Members at a General Meeting.
- (VII) The audit of those accounts by independent auditors.

- (VIII) The making of bye-laws.
- (IX) The making and using of official seals of the Company.
- (x) The constitution and regulation of Committees or Local Boards of Management.
- (XI) The making and execution of supplementary deeds of settlement.
- (XII) The winding up (in case of need) of the Company's affairs.
- (XIII) The government and regulation of the Company and of its affairs.
- (XIV) Any other matters usual or proper to be provided for in respect of a chartered company.

26. The Deed of Settlement shall, before the execution thereof, be submitted to and approved by the Lords of Our Council, and a certificate of their approval thereof, signed by the Clerk of Our Council, shall be endorsed on this Our Charter, and be conclusive evidence of such approval, and on the Deed of Settlement, and such Deed of Settlement shall take effect from the date of such approval, and shall be binding upon the Company, its

Members, Officers and Servants, and for all other purposes whatsoever.

27. The provisions of the Deed of Settlement, or of any supplementary Deed for the time being in force, may be from time to time repealed, varied or added to by a supplementary Deed, made and executed in such manner as the Deed of Settlement prescribes: Provided that the provisions of any such Deed relative to the Official Director shall not be repealed, varied or added to without the express approval of Our Secretary of State.

28. The Members of the Company shall be individually liable for the debts, contracts, engagements and liabilities of the Company to the extent only of the amount, if any, for the time being unpaid on the shares held by them respectively.

29. Until such Deed of Settlement as aforesaid takes effect the said James Duke of Abercorn shall be the President; the said Alexander William George Duke of Fife shall be Vice-President; and the said Edric Frederick Lord Gifford, Cecil John Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Albert Henry George Grey and

George Cawston shall be the Directors of the Company; and may on behalf of the Company do all things necessary or proper to be done under this Our Charter by or on behalf of the Company: Provided always that, notwithstanding anything contained in the Deed of Settlement of the Company, the said James Duke of Abercorn, Alexander William George Duke of Fife and Albert Henry George Grey shall not be subject to retire from office in accordance with its provisions, but shall be and remain Directors of the Company until death, incapacity to act or resignation, as the case may be.

30. And We do further will, ordain and declare that this Our Charter shall be acknowledged by Our Governors and Our naval and military officers and Our consuls, and Our other officers in Our Colonies and Possessions, and on the high seas, and elsewhere, and they shall severally give full force and effect to this Our Charter, and shall recognise and be in all things aiding to the Company and its Officers.

31. And We do further will, ordain and

declare that this Our Charter shall be taken, construed and adjudged in the most favourable and beneficial sense for and to the best advantage of the Company as well in Our Courts in our United Kingdom, and in Our Courts in Our Colonies or Possessions, and in Our Courts in foreign countries or elsewhere, notwithstanding that there may appear to be in this Our Charter any non-recital, mis-recital, uncertainty or imperfection.

32. And We do further will, ordain and declare that this Our Charter shall subsist and continue valid, notwithstanding any lawful change in the name of the Company or in the Deed of Settlement thereof, such change being made with the previous approval of Our Secretary of State signified under his hand.

33. And We do further will, ordain and declare that it shall be lawful for Us, Our heirs and successors, and We do hereby expressly reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors the right and power by writing under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom at the end of 25 years from the date of this Our Charter, and at the end of every succeeding

period of ten years, to add to, alter or repeal any of the provisions of this Our Charter, or to enact other provisions in substitution for or in addition to any of its existing provisions: Provided that the right and power thus reserved shall be exercised only in relation to so much of this Our Charter as relates to administrative and public matters. And We do further expressly reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors the right to take over any buildings or works belonging to the Company, and used exclusively or mainly for administrative or public purposes, on payment to the Company of such reasonable compensation as may be agreed, or as, failing agreement, may be settled by the Commissioners of Our Treasury. And we do further appoint, direct and declare that any such writing under the said Great Seal shall have full effect, and be binding upon the Company, its members, officers and servants, and all other persons, and shall be of the same force, effect and validity as if its provisions had been part of and contained in these presents.

34. Provided always and We do further declare that nothing in this Our Charter shall be deemed or taken in any wise to limit or restrict the exercise of any of Our rights or powers with reference to the protection of any territories or with reference to the government thereof should we see fit to include the same within Our dominions.

35. And we do lastly will, ordain and declare, without prejudice to any power to repeal this Our Charter by law belonging to Us, Our heirs and successors, or to any of Our courts, ministers or officers independently of this present declaration and reservation, that in case at any time it is made to appear to Us in Our Council that the Company has substantially failed to observe and conform to the provisions of this Our Charter, or that the Company is not exercising its powers under the concessions, agreements, grants and treaties aforesaid so as to advance the interests which the Petitioners have represented to Us to be likely to be advanced by the grant of this Our Charter, it shall be lawful for Us, Our heirs and successors, and we do

hereby expressly reserve and take to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors the right and power by writing under the Great Seal of Our United Kingdom to revoke this Our Charter, and to revoke and annul the privileges, powers and rights hereby granted to the Company.

In Witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent.

Witness Ourself at Westminster the 29th day of October in the fifty-third year of Our reign.

By warrant under the Queen's Sign
Manual,

MUIR MACKENZIE.

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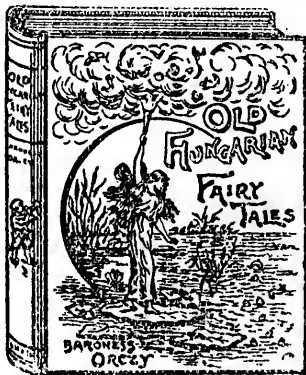
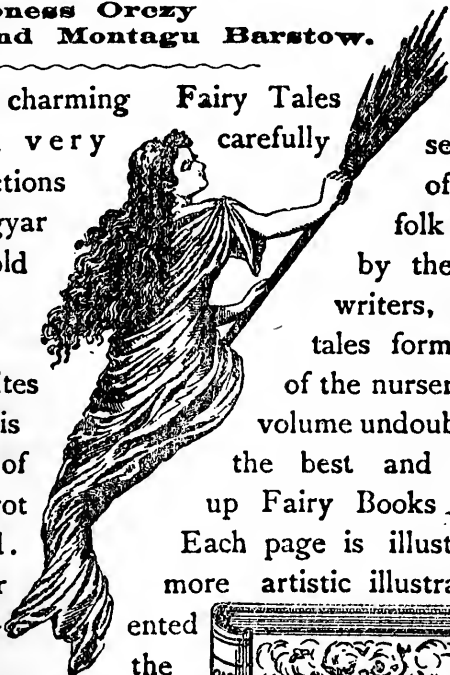
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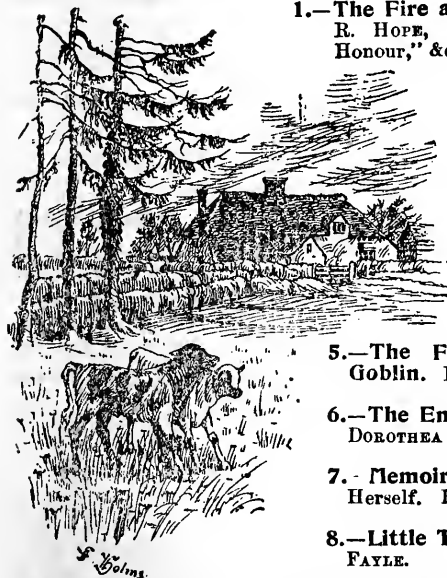
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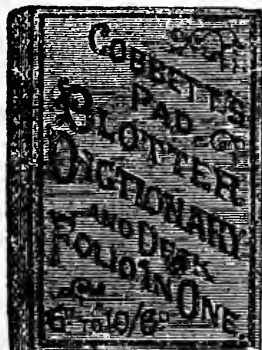
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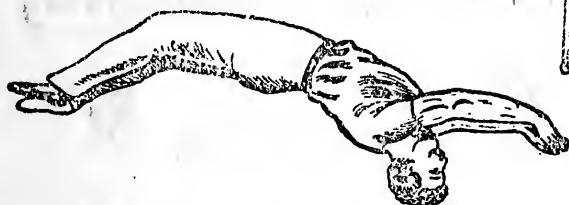
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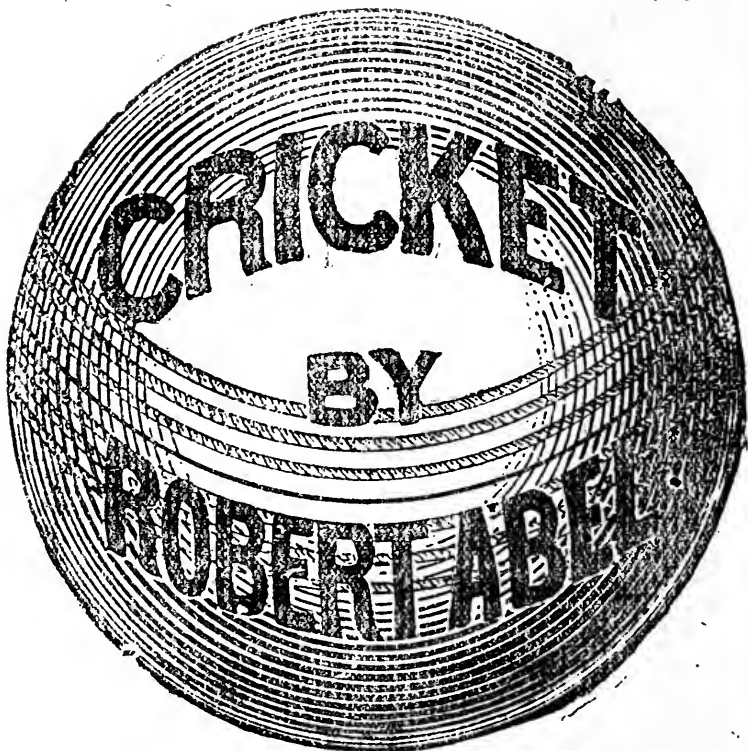
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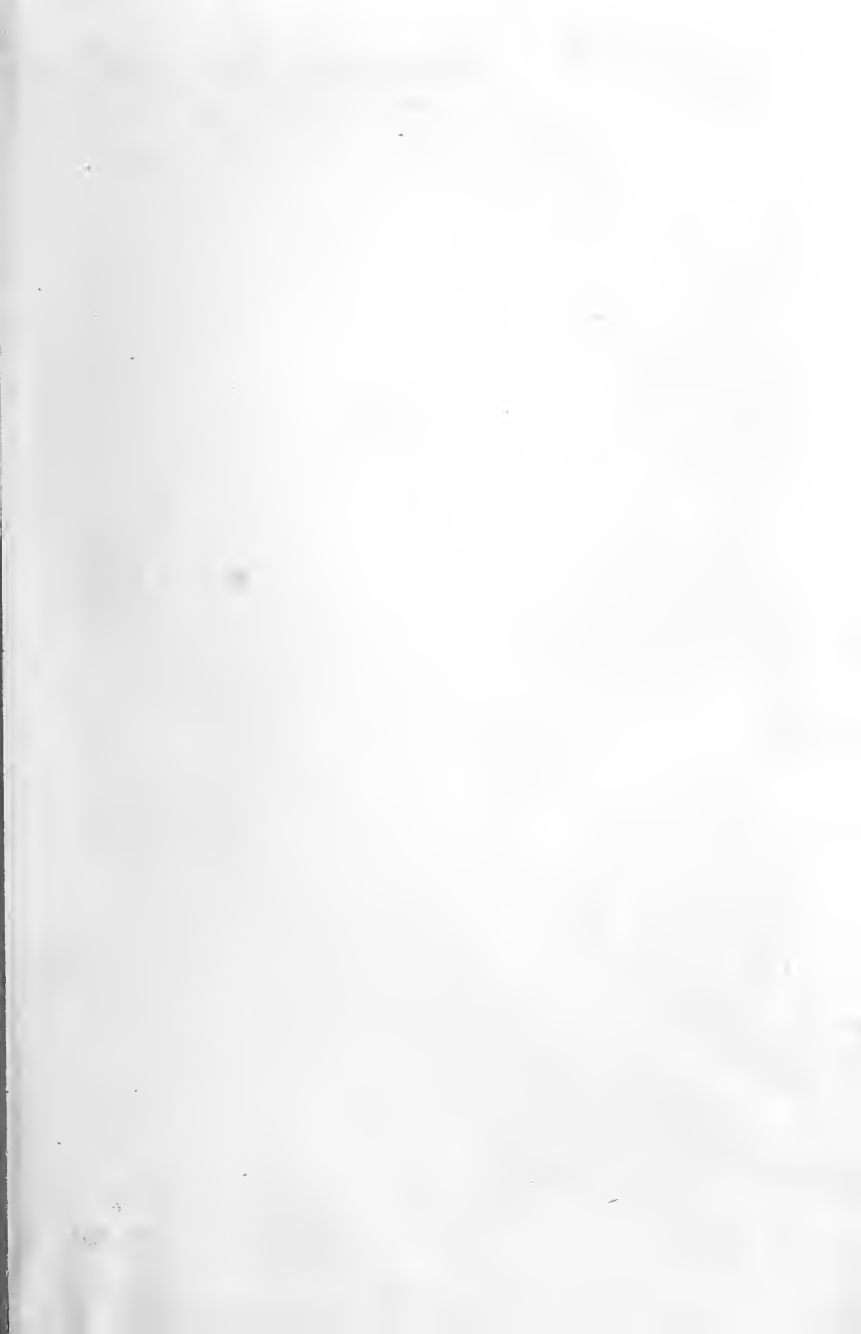
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